

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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SPEECH MONOGRAPHS



**PUBLISHED BY
THE SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA**

VOLUME XXI

MARCH, 1954

No. 1

**SCANDINAVIAN TREATISES ON PREACHING:
A BOOK-LIST**

HARRY CAPLAN and HENRY H. KING

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IN NEW ENGLAND**

EUGENE E. WHITE

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A BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW

WILLIAM W. FLETCHER

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SPEECH MONOGRAPHS

VOLUME XXI—No. 1

MARCH, 1954

SCANDINAVIAN TREATISES ON PREACHING: A BOOK-LIST

HARRY CAPLAN and HENRY H. KING
Cornell University

THIS list¹ is fifth in a series; a Latin list appeared in *The Harvard Theological Review* 42 (1949), 185-206, an Italian list in *Speech Monographs* 16 (1949), 243-252, a Spanish, *ibid.* 17 (1950), 161-170, and a French in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 36 (1950), 296-325. The reader is referred to the introductory remarks in these articles for an explanation of our purposes and of the methods we have followed in compiling these lists.

In connection with the present list a few observations may be made: 1) from the sixteenth century through the nineteenth, and especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth, many Scandinavian authors² wrote their treatises in Latin, and for information about these the Latin list should be consulted; 2) a number of foreign treatises, especially German and English, were translated into one or another of the Scandinavian tongues, and, further, several works composed in one of the Scandinavian tongues were

rendered into another; 3) we have included two novels (see Harald Hornborg and Sigrid Undset, both of the present century) as contributions to history and criticism; and 4) to aid American and English investigators, we have listed several journals and periodicals.

For items concerning which complete data have proved unavailable reference is made in abbreviated form to the following works:

Cat. Bibl. Upsaliensis. Catalogus librorum impressorum Bibliothecae regiae Academiae upsaliensis (Uppsala 1814).

Dansk Bogfortegnelse 1933. Dansk Bogfortegnelse: aarskatalog 1933 (Copenhagen 1934, 83d year).

Forfatterlexikon indtil 1814. Forfatterlexikon for Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814 (Copenhagen 1924-1930, vols. 1-9; and Supplement, vol. 10, 1932).

Linnström, *Svenskt boklexikon, åren 1830-1865*, utarbetadt af Hjalmar Linnström (Stockholm 1867-1884, 2 vols.).

Norsk Bogfortegnelse 1891-1900. Norsk bogfortegnelse 1891-1900 paa grundlag af M. W. Feilbergs Samlinger udarbejdet af H. J. Haffner (Oslo 1902).

Svensk bok-katalog 1866-1875, 1886-1895, 1926-1930 (Stockholm 1878, 1900, 1934).

Svenska män och kvinnor, biographisk uppslagsbok, Stockholm 1942-1949 (vols. 1-6, Abbe-Sheldon).

The letters D, I, N, S preceding the items in these lists indicate Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, or Swedish language or nationality. The letters R.C. following names of authors denote membership in the Roman Catholic church.

¹ The compilers wish to thank Mr. Kristjan Karlsson, formerly Curator of the Icelandic Collection in The Cornell University Library, for his kind advice.

² For *saec.* XVI: Hans Albertsen, Niels Hemmingsen, Jacobus Madsen, and Niels Paladius (all publishing at Copenhagen); for *saec.* XVII: Hans Busch (Copenhagen), for *saec.* XVIII: Laurits Holst (Copenhagen), Petrus Lindahl (Uppsala), Vilhelm Lindberg (Copenhagen), Johannes Molander (Åbo, Finland), J. F. Neikter (Uppsala), S. S. Noring (Uppsala), Niels Randrup (Copenhagen), C. B. Rørdam (Copenhagen), P. C. Sinding (Copenhagen), Johannes Utter and A. H. Winter (both of Åbo, Finland); for *saec.* XIX: L. A. Anjou (Uppsala), Nic. Boysen (Copenhagen), Samuel Hearlin (Lund), Jacob Östberg (Uppsala), C. V. Park (Uppsala), Johannes Petterson (Lund), F. L. Schaumann (Helsinki).

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- D. BAXTER, RICHARD (1615-1691). *Opfordring til praesterne, en pastoraltheologie*. Tr. from the English by H. C. Sonne. Copenhagen 1858.
In English original (*Gildas Salvianus; the reformed pastor: shewing the nature of pastoral work*): London 1656.
- D. GRIFFENFELDT, PEDER SCHUMACHER, Count (1635-1699). *Hans censur 1672-1676 over dem, han havde hørt praedike, blev efter hans fald fundet i hans stol i Nikolaj Kirke* (cf. *Catalog over norske Videnskabs-selskabs Samlinger I* [1808]. 525; and Erik Pontoppidan, *Annales ecclesiae Danicae* . . . IV [1752]. 583-585). Place and date of publication are not known to us (*Forfatterlexikon indtil 1814*).
- S. ROTHUVIUS, ISAC, bp. (1572-1652). See Peterson, E., in 20th-century list, below.
- S. SPEGEL, HAQVIN, abp. (1645-1714). See Tottie, H. W., in 19th-century list, below.
- S. SVEDBERG, JESPER, bp. (1653-1735). See Lizell, G. V., in 20th-century list, below.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- S. ANONYMOUS. *Anmärkningen till oplysning af ett lätt och rätt predikosätt*. See Möller, Johan, below.
- D. ANONYMOUS. *Den homiletiske journal*, etc. See Bynch, J. L., below.
- D. BASTHOLM, CHRISTIAN (1710-1819). *Den geistlige talekonst, tilligemed en bedømmelse over en af Saurins taler*. Copenhagen 1780. In German (*Geistliche Redekunst, nebst einer Kritik über eine Rede von Saurin*, tr. from the Danish by J. F. Marcus): Copenhagen and Leipzig 1780; Copenhagen 1784.
In Swedish (*Avisning at predika*, tr. from the Danish by J. M. Fant): Västerås 1783. See Saurin, Jacques, (1677-1730), in 'French tractates on preaching,' p. 307.
- S. BERGIUS, J. G. (c. 1720-1805). *Ens evangelisk predikares verk*. Norrköping, Uppsala, Nyköping, and Örebro 1773-1777 (in 9 parts): Kuopio 1858 (Part 1).
- D. BIRCH, CARL CHRISTIAN (1753-1808). *Tanker om en praekens egenskaber for tilhørere paa landet*. Odense 1780.
- D. BYNCH, JOSIAS LEOPOLD (1747-1779). *Den homiletiske journal, eller Kritik over praesternes praedikener udi Kiøbenhavn's kirker* (published anonymously). Copenhagen 1772 (*Forfatterlexikon indtil 1814*).
- S. HELFVING, ANDERS (1745-1772). See Olsson, B. H., in 20th-century list, below.
- D. KREJDAL, AUGUSTINUS (1758-1790). *Hvad der fordres af en evangelisk laerer i henseende til Evangelii forkyndelse, forestillet i en praediken paa Ordinations-Dagen den 12 September 1787 i Frue Kirke*. Copenhagen 1791.
- D. MAREZOLL, JOHANN GOTTLÖB (1761-1828). *Den geistlige talers bestemmelse*. Tr. from the German by A. P. Meden. Copenhagen 1795.
In German original (*Über die Bestimmung des Kanzelredners*): Leipzig 1793.
- S. MÖLLER, JOHAN, bp. (1738-1806).
1. *Afhandling om ett rätt predikosätt*. Stockholm 1779. 'Our first art of homiletics in the modern sense' (*Svenska män och kvinnor*, article on Johan Möller).
2. *Anmärkningen till uplysning af ett lätt och rätt predikosätt* (published anonymously). Stockholm 1783 (*Cat. Bibl. Upsaliensis*, p. 593).
- S. NOHRBORG, ANDERS (1725-1765). See Hedlund, F. A., in 19th-century list and Lizell, G. V., in 20th-century list, below.
- D. PONTOPPIDAN, ERIK LUDVIGSEN, bp. (1689-1764). *Collegium pastorale practicum, indeholdende en fornøden Undervisning, Advarsel, Raadførelse og Opmuntring for dennem, som enten berede sig til at tiene Gud og Naesten in det hellige Praeste-Embede eller og leve allerede deri*. Copenhagen 1757, 1765 (rev. ed.), Christianssand 1850.
In Swedish (*Collegium pastorale practicum eller undervisning för dem, som wilja rätt förestå det heliga predikoämbetet*, tr. from the 2d Danish ed. of 1765 by Anders Ryden): Stockholm 1766, 1784; Mariefred 1826 (3rd ed.); Ekenäs 1863; Lund 1866 (4th Swedish ed.).
- D. ROLLIN, CHARLES (1661-1741). R.C. *Afhandling om den veltalenhed, som bruges paa praedikestolen*. Tr. from the French by Rasmus Edsberg. Copenhagen 1757.
In French original ('De l'éloquence de la chaire'): Paris 1726-1728, 1740, 1805, 1817-1818, 1821-1825, 1823, 1835, 1846. For details of

these editions and of the English, German, Italian, and Russian translations, see 'French tractates on preaching,' p. 307.

D. SCHINMEJER, JOHANN CHRISTOPH

(1696-1707). *En anviisning til prædike opbyggelig*. Copenhagen 1739. Title and place and date of publication of the German original are not known to us.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

S. AHLIN, J. O. *Några anmärkningar öfver vår tids predikosätt, af en ordets vän* (published anonymously). Enköping 1864 (Linnström 1. 32).

S. ANDERSSON, KARL AUGUST. *Ropande röster: det svenska Sion*. Stockholm 1882.

S. ANONYMOUS. *En blick på våra andelige talare*, etc. See Montgomery, G. A., below.

S. ANONYMOUS. *Några anmärkningar öfver vår tids predikosätt*, etc. See Ahlin, J. O., above.

S. ANONYMOUS. *Om het heliga predikoembetet*. See Nyström, E., below.

N. ANONYMOUS. *Prædikanten og hans gjerning*. Tr. from the English by Ole Olsen. Oslo 1893. The English original is not known to us (*Norsk Bogfortegnelse 1891-1900*, p. 334).

S. ANONYMOUS. *Två olika sätt att predika och dess följder; framställde under bilden af en dröm* (Phil. 3:2. Tim. 5: 17). Jönköping 1858 (Linnström 2. 608).

S. ANONYMOUS (Petrus). *Predikanten och församlingen; några anvisningar om predikantens och församlingens plikter gent emot hvarandra*. Stockholm 1891 (*Svensk Bok-katalog 1886-1895*, p. 234).

N. BANG, ANTON CHRISTIAN, bp. (1840-1913). *Prædikenen i den norske Kirke under Katholicismen*. Oslo 1875 (Extr. from *Theologisk Tidsskrift for den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge*, new series 6. 298-359).

S. BAUER, KARL GOTTFRIED (1765-1842). *Homiletiken, eller anvisning till ett kristligt predikosätt*. Tr. from the German by K. A. Finelius. Tavastehus 1848.

In German original (*Paragraphen, als Grundlage zu Vorlesungen über die Homiletik*): Leipzig 1826.

S. BIBERG, JACOB FREDRIK.

1. *Bidrag till den kristliga homiletiken, samt ett och annat i sammanhang dermed, af J. F. B. Hernösand* 1860 (Linnström 1. 109).

2. *Ett blad i den kristliga homiletiken, af J. F. B. Hernösand* 1873 (*Svensk Bok-katalog 1866-1875*, p. 37).

S. BJÖRLING, CARL OLOF, bp. (1804-1884). *Om den nuvarande lekmanverksamheten*. Vesterås 1873.

S. BÖDDINGHAUS, KARL THEODOR. *En evangelisk predikares verk*. Tr. from the Ger-

man by S. C. Arrhén. Hälsingborg 1840, 1841 (2d ed., rev.).

In German original (*Der evangelische Geistliche in seiner Vorbereitung und Amtsführung, oder der Theologie-Studierende in der Elementarschule, auf dem Gymnasio und der Universität, der Kandidat des Predigtamts und der Pfarrer bei allen seinen Amtsverrichtungen und amtlichen Verhältnissen*. Elberfeld 1837).

N. BRANDTZAEG, JOHANNES. *Den rette prædikemaade, et foredrag*. Bergen 1894.

S. BURK, JOHANN FRIEDRICH. *Evangelisk pastoraltheologie i exempel; ur trogne Guds tjenaers erfaringhet sammanfattad och isynnerhet yngre embetsbröder tillegnad*. Tr. from the German by C. A. F[orsell]. Gefle 1845-1848 (2 vols.).

In German original (*Evangelische Pastoral-Theologie in Beispielen; aus den Erfahrungen treuer Diener Gottes zusammengestellt und hauptsächlich seinen jüngern Amtsbrüdern gewidmet*): Stuttgart 1838, 1839 (2 vols.).

S. CEREROTH, JOHN. *Illustrationer och berättelser till tjenst för predikanter och söndagsskollärare*. Örebro 1891.

S. DECOPPET, AUGUSTE (1836-1906). *Hvad bør predikas for vår tid? Foredrag*. Tr. from the French. Stockholm 1870.

In French original (*Des besoins actuels de la prédication dans nos églises; rapport présenté à la conférence nationale évangélique du Midi, réunie à Nérac le 7 novembre 1867*. Toulouse 1868).

S. FRANZÉN, FRANS MICHAEL, bp. (1772-1847). See von Schmalensee, Bo, in 20th-century list, below.

N. GRIMELUND, A. *Forelaesninger over praktisk theologie, i kort sammendrag*. Oslo 1856, Horten 1884.

I. HALFDANARSON, HELGI (1826-1894). *Stutt ágríp af þrjedikunarfræði*. Reykjavik 1896.

S. HARMS, CLAUS (1778-1855). *Pastoraltheologie*: bk. 1, *Predikanten*. Tr. from the German by J. N. Holmgren, with revisions and supplement by A. E. Knös. Stockholm 1839 (3 vols.).

In German original (*Pastoraltheologie, in*

- Reden an Theologie-Studierende*: Stuttgart 1830-1834, Kiel 1878, Gotha 1888.
- In Danish (*Pastoraltheologie*, tr. into the Danish by H. E. Glahn): Copenhagen 1844-1847 (Bks. 1-3).
- S. HEDLUND, F. A. *Anders Nohrborg* (q.v. in 18th-century list, above) *som predikant*. Place of publication not known to us, 1877 (*Svenska män och kvinnor* 5. 468).
- S. HEDRÉN, JOHAN JACOB, bp. (1775-1861). See Montgomery, G. A., below.
- I. HELGASON, ARNI, bp. (1777-1869). See Tulinius, Finn, in 20th-century list, below.
- S. HOOF, JACOB OTTO (1768-1839). See Henningsen, K. A., in 20th-century list, below.
- S. HULTKRANTZ, C. A. (1823-1877). *Den kristliga predikan från synpunkten af lagens och Evangelii rätta bruk; försök till anvisning att predika rent, praktisk och uppbyggligt (akademisk afhandling)*. Uppsala 1856.
- N. JANSEN, JENS JONAS (1844-1912). *Hvorledes bør der predikes?* Oslo 1894. See also Berggrav, E. J., Jansen, J. J.; appears also in 20th-century list, below.
- N. KNUTSEN, ASBJØRN. *Hvoraf kommer det, at praedikenen i vore kirker baerer saa liden frugt? Indledningsforedrag holdt ved indremissionsmødet i Aasnaes 17de juli 1891*. Kongsvinger 1891.
- S. LAGUS, JONAS (1798-1857). See: Krook, Tor, in 20th-century list, below.
- S. LARSSON, LUDVIG (1860-1933).
1. *Studier över den Stockholmska homilieboken*. Lund 1887.
 2. *Svan på professor Wiséns Textkritiska anmärkningar till den Stockholmska homilieboken*. Lund 1888. See: Wisén, Theodor (below).
- S. LEHNBERG, MAGNUS, bp. (1758-1808). See Leufvén, J. A., in 20th-century list below.
- S. LJUNGQUIST, JOHAN PETER (b. 1827). *Några tankar om predikan [specimen för pastoral-examen]*. Kalmar 1863.
- S. LÖHE, WILHELM CONRAD (1808-1872). *Den evangeliske presten; ett stycke pastoral-theologi*. Tr. from the German with adaptation to Swedish conditions by C. J. Lénström. Stockholm 1853.
- In German original (*Der evangelische Geistliche*): Stuttgart, Gütersloh 1852-1858, 1866 (2d vol., rev.).
- S. MONTGOMERY, GUSTAV ADOLF (1791-1861). *En blick på våra andelige talare, med anledning af de under loppet af innevarande år i hufvudstaden utkomma afskeds- och inträdes-predikningar . . . , af biskopen med mere Doctor [J. J.] Hedrén [q.v., above] och Kyrkoherden Doctor [A. Z.] Pettersson [q.v., below], jemte Ordens-Biskopen Doctor [J. O.] Wallins invigningstal den 26 September 1830*. Published anonymously. Stockholm 1831 (Linnström 2. 73). See Wallin, J. O., below.
- D. MYNSTER, JACOB PETER, bp. (1775-1854). *Bemaerkninger om den kunst at praedike*. Copenhagen 1812 (reprint from *Forhandlinger ved Siellands Stifts Landemøde*).
- S. NORÉN, ELIAS. *Predikoämbetet, en gudomlig nådesinrättning till församlingens uppbyggelse*. Wäring 1892.
- S. NYSTRÖM, E. *Om det heliga predikoämbetet, I*. Stockholm 1868.
- S. OLBERS, CARL (1819-1892). *Homiletikens princip; pastoraltheologisk afhandling*. Lund 1848.
- N. OLSEN, OLE. *Haandsraekning til en laeg-praedikant*. Oslo 1882.
- D. VAN COSTERZEE, JOHANNES JACOBUS (1817-1882). *Praktisk theologi*. Tr. from the Dutch by M. T. Becher. Copenhagen 1881.
- In Dutch original (*Praktische theologie, een handboek voor jeugdige godgeleerden*): Utrecht 1877-1878 (2 vols.), 1895, 1898.
- In English (*Practical theology, an manual for theological students*): London 1874 (tr. by M. J. Evans).
- In German (*Praktische Theologie, ein Handbuch für junge Theologen*): Heilbronn 1878-1879, 2 vols. (authorized German ed. by A. Matthiä and A. Petry).
- S. PALMER, CHRISTIAN (1811-1875). *Evangelisk homiletik*. Tr. by P. G. Ahnfelt. Lund 1846, 1857.
- In German original (*Evangelische Homiletik*): Stuttgart 1842, 1845, 1867.
- D. PALUDAN-MÜLLER, JENS, the younger (1813-1899). *Til forsvar for en forøgelse af vore praediketexter*. Copenhagen 1879.
- S. PETERSON, RICHARD. *Från predikstolen och vid grafven*. Söderköping 1890.
- S. PETTERSON, ABRAHAM ZACHARIAS (1792-1857). See Montgomery, G. A., above.
- I. PÉTURSSON, PÉTUR (1808-1891). *Stutt Raedusnid, eda Fáeinarr Hugvekhjur, aetladar Prédikurum af Pétri Péturssyni . . . Videyar Klaustri* 1839.
- S. PONTÉN, JOHAN (1776-1857). *Om predikosjukan i Småland*. Vexjö 1843. Cf. Mary Howitt, 'The preaching epidemic in Sweden' (London 1847, in *Howitt's journal* 1. 38-41).
- S. QUENSEL, JOHN OSCAR (1845-1915). *Homiletik*. Stockholm 1894-1896, Uppsala 1901 (2d ed., rev. and enlarged), 1910 (3d ed., rev.).

- D. ROHMANN, JØRGEN LINDEGAARD (1797-1860). *Dansk homiletisk magazin*. Odense 1845.
- S. ROSENIUS, KARL OLOF, lay preacher (1816-1868). See Brandt, G. A., in 20th-century list, below.
- D. ROSENKRANZ, KARL (1805-1879). *Theologisk encyclopaedie*. Tr. from the German by P. B. Blicher. In German original (*Encyclopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften*): Halle 1831, 1845 (2d ed., rev.).
- N. SAND, PAUL GERHARD (b. 1848). *Vink og Raad for unge Laegpraedikanter*. Biri 1889.
- D. SCHARLING, CARL EMIL (1803-1877). *Methodistiske Laegpraester* (based upon the account in Robert Southey's biography of Wesley). Sorø 1832.
- S. SPURGEON, CHARLES HADDON (1834-1892). *Excentriskia predikanter*. Tr. from the English. In English original (*Eccentric preachers*): London 1879.
- N. STALKER, JAMES (1848-1927). *Ordets tjenere og deres forbilleder*. Tr. from the English by Birger Hall. Oslo 1893. In English original (*The preacher and his models; Yale lectures on preaching, 1891*): New York 1891.
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THE PROTASIS OF THE GREAT AWAKENING IN NEW ENGLAND

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ON the Sunday morning of September 14, 1740, when the Reverend Mr. Whitefield stepped ashore from his private sloop, he found not only Newport but all New England eager to receive him. The Calvinist forest was dry with long spiritual drought, and Whitefield's evangelism soon ignited a wildfire of religious emotionalism that swept New England for several years. The forty-six days of Whitefield's tour may be considered the Protasis of the Awakening in New England; it served as the instrumentality to set into motion and to shape the expression of previously prepared forces of revivalism. Following his departure from the northern colonies,¹ the revival moved steadily toward hysterical excesses under the prompting of Gilbert Tennent, James

Davenport, and other evangelists.² Like the djinn of legend, religious emotionalism once uncorked was difficult to bottle up again. By the latter part of 1742 the climax had been reached; increasing numbers began to question the divine motivation of the prevailing turmoil; gradually the revival lost its unity as a mass movement and degenerated into eddies of local fervor.³

I. FIRST VISIT TO BOSTON

For three days (September 14-16) Whitefield pleaded with the inhabitants of Newport to forsake their commercial pursuits for salvation in Christ. Four times the Rhode Islanders packed the large Anglican church to hear his sermons, and a crowd of children and adults seemed always at his heels.⁴ Although besieged with requests to remain longer, Whitefield set out for Boston about nine o'clock, Wednesday morning. As his horse jogged northward, the evangelist's thoughts must have been full of preparations to bring a revival of religion to New England. For many months he had planned this tour; his correspondence with various of the Boston clergy and his "meditations"

¹ George Whitefield (1714-1770), the son of a Gloucester, England, inn keeper, was educated at St. Mary de Crypt Grammar School, Gloucester, and at Oxford University. Ordained a deacon in the Church of England in 1736, and a minister in 1739, he made a first trip to America in 1738 as chaplain to Frederica, Georgia, and a second trip (November, 1739, to January, 1741) at the time of the Great Awakening. On Whitefield's second visit he itinerated through the Middle and Southern Colonies before arriving in Rhode Island, September 14, 1740. Following his New England tour, he arrived in New York City, October 30; preached in the Middle Colonies; arrived in Savannah, December 13; left Savannah December 30, for Charleston; sailed for England, January 24, 1741. In the next thirty years Whitefield roved over the British Isles and visited America five times more. He died September 30, 1770, at Newburyport, Massachusetts. In addition to his preaching during the Awakening in America, Whitefield is remembered for his work in helping stimulate the Wesleyan revival in England during 1739 and the early 1740's.

² The standard, if prejudiced, reference for the hysteria of the Great Awakening is Charles Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts* (Boston, 1743). An excellent brief account is found in the *Boston Post Boy*, Sept. 23, 1741.

³ Eugene E. White, "Decline of the Great Awakening in New England: 1741 to 1746," *New England Quart.*, XXIV (1951), 35-52; and "George Whitefield and the Paper War in New England," *QJS*, XXXIX (1953), 61-8.

⁴ Philadelphia, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 2, 1740.

with the divine spirit had convinced him that his services were needed to rescue the people of New England from their sins.⁵ On the afternoon of the next day, the saddle-worn Whitefield was met on the outskirts of Boston by Governor Belcher's son and a welcoming party.

During the ten days of his first visit to Boston, Whitefield whirled through an exhaustive schedule of dinners, two sermons daily, and almost constant exhortations in the streets and private homes.⁶ The immediate and continuing stir created by the evangelist is described by the hostile Timothy Cutler:⁷

When Mr. Whitefield first arrived here, the whole town was alarm'd . . . immediately the bells rung, and all hands went to lecture, and this show kept on all the whole time he was here. The town was ever alarm'd, the streets filled with people, with coaches &. (sic.) chaises, all for ye benefit of that holy man. The conventicles were crowded, but he chose rather our Common where multitudes might see him in all his awful postures . . .

Another contemporary recorded that "The grand subject of conversation was Mr. Whitefield, and the whole business of the town" seemed to be "to run from place to place to hear him preach." Many believed him to be a divine being cast temporarily in the mold of a man.

⁵ *Boston Weekly News Letter*, June 5, 1740.

⁶ A century earlier, the ill-fated Mrs. Anne Hutchinson held small meetings in private homes for religious discussion. However, such gatherings assumed no major significance until the coming of Whitefield. As the evangelist recorded in his *Journal*, from early morning until he pinched out his bedside taper he was constantly engaged in talking with the frightened, the saved, and the curious. *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, from a Few Days After His Return to Georgia to His Arrival at Falmouth* (London, 1741), hereafter referred to as *Journal*. To the inevitable crowds at his heels or at his table, Whitefield offered a steady stream of prayers, blessings, and exhortations. Such gatherings probably brought many "almost believers" into the fold and helped maintain a carnival-like atmosphere of excitement.

⁷ Timothy Cutler, letter dated Sept. 24, 1743, in the manuscript files of the Boston Public Library.

In the words of Benjamin Colman, Boston received Whitefield "an angel of God . . . as the apostle St. Paul was received by the churches in Galatia."⁸

On his first morning in Boston, Friday, September 19, Whitefield was escorted to the Governor's office, where he met the devout Jonathan Belcher, who was to become his most stalwart supporter. After an "engaging conversation" with the Governor, Whitefield attended the prayer service of the Episcopal King's Chapel. Accompanying Commissary Vessey home, he was introduced to Timothy Cutler and four other Episcopal clergymen. Although they treated him politely, they subjected him to a searching catechism for almost an hour. At the conclusion of the discussion Whitefield, nettled by their "uncompromising attitude" and their "inconsistencies," refused an invitation to remain for dinner, and stalked to his lodgings to dine with his followers. Judging from his *Journal*, Whitefield differed sharply with the Anglican ministers in at least two ways.⁹ (1) He denied that the Church of England represented the only true apostolic faith: one's religious affiliation was unimportant; "regenerate souls" could be found in almost any Protestant denomination. Furthermore, as Whitefield advised his fellow clergymen, the Church of England should "preach up the New Birth, and the power of Godliness, and not to insist so upon the forms." (2) He attacked the contemporary philosophy of the church, which held that any individual who submitted to the act of

⁸ *Boston Evening Post*, Oct. 29, 1744, and Aug. 18, 1746; Chauncy, *The Late Religious Commotions in New England Considered* (Boston, 1743), p. 6; *The State of Religion in New England, Since the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Arrival There* (Glasgow, 1742), p. 4; Benjamin Colman, *Souls Flying to Jesus Christ* (Boston, 1740).

⁹ Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 26.

baptism experienced a "new birth." Whitefield argued that man could be saved only by being "elected by God," and that preaching was the divinely appointed means of awakening the chosen to an awareness of their "happy lot."¹⁰ In view of the prevailing hostility in New England toward the Anglican Church, this rupture between Whitefield and his own church probably enhanced rather than diminished his popularity.

Several hours after his clash with the Church of England ministers, Whitefield delivered his first Boston sermon before about three thousand persons in Dr. Colman's Brattle Street Church.¹¹ According to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince, the sermon set an appropriate pattern for the beginnings of a revival by "representing that all our learning and morality will never save us; and without an experimental knowledge of GOD in CHRIST we must perish in HELL for ever.—He spake as became the ORACLES OF GOD . . . exciting us to come and be acquainted with the dear REDEEMER, as melted the assembly into tears."¹² As Whitefield told his hearers,

¹⁰ As had other predestinarians before him, Whitefield rationalized election with evangelism in this way: "Hath not God, who hath appointed salvation for a certain number, appointed also the preaching of the word as a means to bring them to it? Does any one hold election in any other sense? . . . Since we know not who are elect, and who reprobate, we are to preach promiscuously to all. For the word may be useful, even to the non-elect, in restraining them from much wickedness and sin. . . . By these means . . . some . . . shall certainly be quickened and enabled to believe, And who, that attends, especially with reverence and care, can tell but he may be found of that happy number? A letter to John Wesley, December 24, 1740, in *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield* (London, 1771, 1772), IV, p. 59.

¹¹ For a discussion of the difficulties in estimating the size of Whitefield's auditories, see White, "The Preaching of George Whitefield During the Great Awakening," SM, XV (1948), 33-43.

¹² Thomas Prince, Jr., *The Christian History* (Boston, 1745), p. 380.

conversion was a physical and mental metamorphosis from a worldly to a spiritual attitude. Passive, intellectual belief was insufficient. Such reasoning, as dully familiar as the winter's snow, had been enunciated from the rostrum since the first settlement. Now, however, under Whitefield's violent preaching, thorough-going conversion ceased to be an abstraction: there seemed to be a horrible immediacy about death, a terrible nearness and inevitability of hell; salvation could not wait.

Perhaps it is within reason to say that convulsionary conversion, endorsed by Whitefield and almost universally accepted by the people, proved to be a safety valve preventing mass psychosis. Those who became thoroughly convinced of being condemned to hell unless reborn in the spirit reached a state of unbearable tension. The purgation of feeling which ordinarily resulted was attributed to be God's method of indicating they were saved, i.e., they were among the "elect." Although Solomon Stoddard had experienced five revivals during his ministry in Northampton, and although Samuel Sewall's *Diary* contained references to cryings and faintings in church, religion in New England had been basically a sober and controlled exercise, as befitted a disciplined society. However, under Whitefield's exhortations the pattern of violent conversions which had been introduced in the Northampton revival of 1734¹³ became the symbol of the Great Awakening.¹⁴

¹³ In his advertising of the Northampton revival Jonathan Edwards proved to be one of the most effective publicity agents in Colonial history. In Boston in 1736, the first draft of his *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton* was published as an appendix to an evangelistic sermon by the Reverend William Williams of Hatfield, *The Duty and Interest of a People, Among Whom Religion Has Been Planted, to Continue Steadfast and Sincere* (Boston, 1736). Receiving almost instantaneous popular success, the Nar-

On Saturday morning, during a sermon at the Old South Church, Whitefield sharply attacked the philosophy of "good works." He proclaimed "the absolute necessity of regeneration by the HOLY GHOST; and of believing in CHRIST, in order to" obtain "salvation from hell and an entrance into heaven." "Good works," he insisted, would not insure justification, because "the *tree of the heart* is by original sin exceedingly corrupted, and must be made good by *regeneration*, that so the *fruits* proceeding from it may be good likewise: that where the *heart* is renewed, it ought and will be careful to maintain *good works*."¹⁵ Such an interpretation of the method of achieving regeneration concurred with standard New England Calvinism, if not with contemporary practice. During the previous century "Federal Theology"¹⁶ had made easier

narrative soon introduced almost every New England home to the hysterical obsessions of Abigail Hutchinson and little Phoebe Bartlett, four years old. After revision and amplification, editions were printed in London, Edinburgh, and in cities on the continent. In 1738 at Boston three editions were published which varied slightly among themselves. All of the American copies contained an extended preface by the English dissenting ministers Isaac Watts and John Guyse. They also included an enthusiastic preface by four prominent Boston ministers who were later to be outstanding champions of Whitefield and the Awakening: Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, and William Cooper. The two prefaces were followed by a brief attestation signed by six additional ministers. By popularizing emotional excesses under the guise of divine inspiration, the *Narrative* helped prepare the way for the Great Awakening and established the mode of sensationalism which still remains a characteristic of revivals.

¹⁴ *Boston Evening Post*, Aug. 19, 1745.

¹⁵ Prince, *Christian History*, p. 380.

¹⁶ The pure Calvinist doctrine of "election" had never been taught from the pulpit. From the earliest days Colonial theologians had accepted conversion as a compact entered into by both contracting parties—God and man. Very possibly the divines did not realize that such a belief, sometimes called "Federal Theology," represented a violation of one of the basic canons of Calvinism; namely, that man, by nature a contemptible and lowly creature, is totally incapable of noble acts. Like New Englanders, Whitefield believed in election, but

an expanding recognition of the Arminian philosophy of "good works." For generations before the Awakening, ministers, while sternly condemning the doctrine, had inadvertently preached a version of "good works" in their efforts to rigidly control all forms of social conduct. Their attempts to promote personal religious dedication were hampered by their concentration on maintaining proper standards of pious behavior. However, despite the self-confutation of the clergy and the seductive appeal of "good works," almost every church-goer in New England in 1740, gave lip service, at least, to the principle of "justification by faith only." Whitefield's magnetic appeal injected new vitality into what had come to have a hollow sound even in the pulpit. Although he shifted the emphasis from saintly deportment to religious zeal, Whitefield did not sneer at "good works," but maintained that godly actions were "necessary fruits and evidences of true faith" automatically following genuine conversion. In this respect, Whitefield returned to the teaching of the original saints: inward purity inevitably produced outward purity; without an inner experiencing of the divine presence, pious behavior was impotent to secure salvation.

In the afternoon, following his sermon at the Old South Church, Whitefield de-

he did not stress the doctrine in his sermons. In actual practice, he threw open the gates of salvation to everyone, not to just a select few as inherent in true Calvinism. He taught that Christ deeply loved all men; any sinner was welcome to the fold; none that came to Christ would be turned away. In his sermon "The Marks of a New Birth" (published in New York and London in 1739 and in New England during the fall of 1740), Whitefield explained that anyone who experienced in his breast a surging of the holy spirit, and who felt a revulsion toward sin, could consider himself among the chosen. This somewhat confused interpretation of "election" was sufficiently orthodox to be acceptable, yet sufficiently "liberal" to persuade everyone he had a chance to be saved.

livered his first sermon upon the Boston Common to about five thousand persons.¹⁷ The First Church was unable to hold the crowds that came to hear Whitefield on Sunday afternoon; so, immediately after the services, he preached upon the Common to a vast audience of over eight thousand. Several thousand persons crowded into the meetinghouse of the Reverend John Webb on Monday morning to hear the evangelist. In the afternoon a most spectacular and tragic accident occurred at the New South Church, where Whitefield had appointed to preach. Before sermon time the aisles and gallery were jammed. Someone in the rear apparently broke a board to make a seat. Another person, startled by the noise of breaking wood, cried out that the balcony was collapsing. Almost immediately the whole congregation was thrown into hysteria. Some jumped out of the windows, others leaped off the gallery onto the people below. All screamed and pushed toward the exits. As a result of the brutal shoving and trampling, at least five persons were fatally injured. Whitefield came to the church in the midst of the confusion and saw the crippled bodies upon the ground. Instead of ministering to the stricken, he led several thousand of the congregation, and others attracted by the commotion, to the Common where he pointed out that everyone should be ready at all times to die and to "meet Christ." The extensive publicity given the tragedy by the Colonial press served to accentuate the emotionalism produced by Whitefield's preaching.¹⁸

On Tuesday Whitefield delivered two

sermons at the Reverend Joshua Gee's church. On Wednesday he preached in the morning and in the afternoon at Harvard College. Especially in his morning sermon he berated the tutors and students for their "backslidings" and for the general "sinfulness" of the university. Resentment for this chiding, if it existed, remained covert. After all, the pattern was familiar: almost every fast day and election sermon for the previous eighty years had lamented the decrease in religious devotion, denounced the steadily growing catalogue of "sins," and urged repentance and a return to simple faith.¹⁹ If the Englishman seemed especially pointed in his remarks, ministerial brickbats were not uncommon hazards in the process of giving and acquiring a liberal education. After the attacks of the Mathers, the friends of the college must have developed an imperturbability that would

¹⁹ Representative of such expressions are: John Higginson, *The Cause of God and His People in New England* (Cambridge, 1663); William Hubbard, *The Happiness of a People in the Wisdom of Their Rulers* (Boston, 1676); Joseph Baxter, *The Duty of a People to Pray to, and Bless God for Their Rulers* (Boston, 1727); John Woodward, *Civil Rulers Are God's Ministers, for the Peoples Good* (Boston, 1712); Nathanael Mather, *It Is the Duty and Should Be the Care of Believers on Christ, to Live in the Constant Exercise of Grace* (Boston, 1684). As Perry Miller has pointed out, such sermons, delivered on important occasions for the purpose of evaluating the existing state of affairs, actually represented a form of mass purgation. "Declension in a Bible Commonwealth," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 51, Part I. The gradual transition from a Hebraic Zion to a commercial state produced inevitable alterations in patterns of thought and behavior. To the clergy the new concentration on "things of this world" was "vicious" and "unclean." Of course, today we recognize that the "sins" which so disturbed the clergy were merely manifestations of social change; but to the listeners such conduct probably represented a vitiation of the faith of their fathers. The condemnatory mode and the purging effect of these sermons are of considerable importance, for they served as mild prototypes for the mass purgations that characterized the Awakening.

¹⁷ This estimate is taken from the *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Sept. 25, 1740. As was customary, Whitefield's *Journal* offered a less conservative figure—8,000.

¹⁸ For typical reports of the accident see: *Boston Gazette*, September 29, 1740; *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Sept. 25, 1740.

turn aside almost any calumny.²⁰ Unfortunately for the Awakening, that evening Whitefield recorded for publication in his *Journal* the first of several severe criticisms of the New England colleges.²¹

On Thursday Whitefield preached in the morning at the First Church and in the afternoon at Charlestown. He gave two sermons on Friday at Roxbury. The next day he preached in the morning at the Reverend William Welstead's church and in the afternoon upon the Common. On Sunday Whitefield wound up the first portion of his visit to Boston in typically exciting fashion. In the morning he spoke at the Old South Church and collected 555 pounds in currency for his Georgia orphanage. In the afternoon he received 470 pounds at the Brattle Street Church.²² At this sermon he informed his hearers that he was leaving Boston for a brief tour of northeastern Massachusetts. He spoke so powerfully and the people offered their contributions so willingly that the Reverend Mr. Colman declared it was the most pleasant time he had ever enjoyed in that meetinghouse.²³ Shortly after Whitefield returned to his lodgings, Governor Belcher, who had been most generous in transporting the evangelist about town in his coach, called to wish him a pleasant and successful journey. Later that evening Whitefield preached to a "great number" of Negroes upon the conversion of the Ethiopian from Acts 8. Before retiring, he delivered an exhortation to a mass of people who had filled his lodging place. It must have

been a trying day for the young man. His *Journal* recorded that he had sweated profusely and had vomited several times.²⁴

Mindful of the enthusiastic crowds which had constantly followed Whitefield about during his stay in Boston, the *Evening Post* stated, "This morning the Rev. Mr. Whitefield set out on his progress to the eastward, so that the town is in a hopeful way of being restor'd to its former state of order, peace and industry."²⁵ Several days later an exception to this "implied slur" was taken by the *Weekly News Letter*:

What is insinuated in this article, is by no means esteem'd the sense of the town; for we are very certain, that the generality of sober and serious persons, of all denominations among us, (who perhaps are as much for maintaining order, peace, & industry, as Mr. Evening Post and Company,) have been greatly affected with Mr. Whitefield's plain, powerful and awakening preaching. . . . And as for those comparatively [sic.] few, who appear to oppose, and speak evil of Mr. Whitefield and his preaching, we hope it will be thought no breach of charity, if we say,—that they discover too much of the spirit of those Jews, who, when the Apostle preach'd at Antioch. [sic.] were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming. . . . And of the spirit of the Gadareens; who when Christ had preached and wrought miracles among them,—desired him to depart out of their coasts.²⁶

Popular approbation of the young minister had reached such heights that to speak critically of him was considered

²⁰ In 1701 Increase Mather capitulated to the liberal wing of the Harvard Trustees and left the college presidency. That same year, to counteract the influence of liberal Harvard, the Mathers helped establish Yale College.

²¹ Printed early in 1741, Whitefield's *Journal* was widely distributed throughout New England. See White, "George Whitefield and the Paper War in New England."

²² Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 31.

²³ Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 32.

²⁴ Apparently many of Whitefield's auditors believed that the near hysteria frequently evidenced by the evangelist during and following his sermons was the product of divine inspiration. In 1745 the Reverend Mr. Pickering wrote, "I can't but pity the weakness of such as are ready to look upon" Whitefield's "elocution, prolation, and action, as unquestionable indications of" his "being favour'd with the special presence and influence of the Holy Ghost." Theophilus Pickering, *Mr. Pickering's Letter to Mr. Whitefield* (Boston, 1745), p. 1.

²⁵ *Boston Evening Post*, Sept. 29, 1740.

²⁶ *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Oct. 2, 1740.

to be almost synonymous with committing a "sin against the Holy Ghost."²⁷

II. SECOND VISIT TO BOSTON

During the eight days of his absence from Boston, Whitefield journeyed along the coast through Marblehead, Salem, Maulden, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, Portsmouth, and York. On this tour he traveled about two hundred miles and preached sixteen times.

On October 7, the *Weekly News Letter* informed its readers that Whitefield had returned to Boston, listed the places where he had preached, and stated that "Great multitudes attended at every place. . . . Much of the divine presence was visible in most of the congregations." In addition, the article mentioned the time and locality for his sermons during the rest of the week, announced his intentions to leave Boston the following Monday, and gave his itinerary through the next week.²⁸ As Nathanael Henchman later testified, notices such as this created considerable interest and helped insure large attendances for his sermons.²⁹

The second phase of Whitefield's visit to Boston was perhaps more successful than the first. The crowds that followed him from meetinghouse to meetinghouse seemed even larger than before, and his congregations more enthusiastic. Tuesday, the day of his return, he preached both morning and evening at the Brattle Street Church. The next day, he directed major portions of two sermons at the New North Church to the small children in the audience. According to his *Journal*:

But, oh, how were the old people affected, when I said, "Little children, if your parents will not come to Christ, do you come and go to heaven

without them." There seemed to be but few dry eyes. Look where I would, the word smote them, I believe through and through, and my own soul was very much carried out. Surely it **was** the Lord's passover. I have not seen a greater commotion since my preaching at Boston.³⁰

After Whitefield had left New England, various evangelists carried to extremes the device of using children to influence their parents. One report stated that the "terrible language" used by some of Whitefield's emulators "frequently frights the *little children*, and sets them to screaming; and that frights their *tender mothers* and sets them to screaming, and by degrees spreads over a great part of the congregation. . . . Some will faint away, fall upon the floor, wallow and foam. Some women will rend off their caps, handkerchiefs, and other clothes, tear their hair down about their ears, and seem perfectly bereft of their reason."³¹

On Thursday morning before leaving his lodgings to preach at the Old South Church, Whitefield marked a particular text in his Bible. As he entered the red-brick meetinghouse, however, he saw a "great number of ministers" sitting in the pews and changed his text in order to lecture upon the dangers of an unconverted ministry. When in the course of the sermon he came to the words "Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" he felt the Lord ordered him to open his "mouth boldly." His strictures upon the clergy apparently created little offense among the hearers. Governor Belcher, well-pleased with the discourse, invited the minister to dinner, and seemed "more kindly affected than ever."³² Several hours after his attack upon the clergy at the Old South Church, Whitefield

²⁷ *Boston Evening Post*, Oct. 29, 1744.

²⁸ *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Oct. 7, 1740.

²⁹ Nathanael Henchman, *Reasons Offered . . . for Declining to Admit Mr. Whitefield into His Pulpit* (Boston, 1745), p. 5.

³⁰ Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 37.

³¹ *Boston Post Boy*, Sept. 23, 1741; Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts*, p. 106.

³² Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 38.

preached on the Common. In his *Journal* entry for the day, he castigated the generality of the clergy as "unconverted" and "dead men." Although such injudicious remarks were forgiven by his listeners as "extemporaneous expressions,"³³ they became an unforgivable insult when set in print and distributed throughout the English-speaking world. By the spring of 1741, many persons were already growing sensitive to the censorious judging of Gilbert Tennent and other exhorters,³⁴ and increasing numbers began to condemn the evangelist for having set the precedent.³⁵

The next day, Friday, he went with the Reverend Mr. William Cooper to Charlestown where he collected 156 pounds for his orphans; after dinner the two ministers rode twelve miles to Reading, where Whitefield preached to "many thousands." His Saturday sermon at Harvard College was from the text II Peter 2; 5: "Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness." He thought the "Lord opened" his mouth and directed him to speak "very plainly to tutors and pupils" on the "qualifications proper for a true evangelical preacher." After returning to Boston about four o'clock, he preached at the Old South Church.

Sunday, October 12, was the final day of Whitefield's stay in Boston. The excitement of the past three weeks had conditioned the people of Boston and the surrounding area to a final splurge of emotions in honor of the departing prophet. Early in the morning ferry boats began plying the Charles; in unprecedented numbers persons afoot, on horseback, and in wagons, crossed over the neck from the mainland. The Old

South Church was so crowded for his morning sermon that Whitefield was forced to secure entrance by crawling through a window. Expectations of hearing Whitefield's valedictory upon the Common must have heightened during the hours while the evangelist dined with the tearful Governor and attended Joseph Sewall's afternoon sermon at the Old South Church. By late afternoon, when the slim figure in Anglican robes mounted the improvised platform on the Common, a vast audience, allegedly numbering 23,000, persons, was waiting.³⁶ Probably not again until Daniel Webster's Bunker Hill Address in 1825 would a speaker address so large a gathering in America. Although little is known of the nature or results of Whitefield's speech, we may be sure it was not a benign benediction. In his words: "I was very particular in my application, both to rulers, ministers, and people: commended what was commendable; blamed what was blameworthy, and exhorted my listeners steadily to imitate the piety of their forefathers."³⁷

III. ITINERACY TO NEW YORK

Frequently in his letters Whitefield recorded that he was never so contented as when in the saddle seeking fresh harvests of souls. By itinerating, he brought the Protasis of the Awakening to thousands of New Englanders who could not have been served otherwise. As various contemporaries noted, his riding from place to place, frequently in the company of numerous horsemen, provided exciting pageantry and a valu-

³⁶ The *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Oct. 16, 1740, estimated the audience as "upwards" of 23,000. The appendix of the anti-Whitefield pamphlet, *The Wiles of Popery* (Charlestown, 1740), offered the figure of 23,000. Whitefield believed that almost 30,000 persons were in the audience.

³⁷ Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 41.

³³ Prince, *Christian History*, p. 380.

³⁴ *Boston Evening Post*, Sept. 6, 1742.

³⁵ *Boston Evening Post*, Aug. 27, 1744; Prince, *Christian History*, p. 381, blamed the printing of Whitefield's *New England Journal* for offending many former supporters.

able analogy to Christ and his prophets. Although traveling missionaries were not completely new in New England, never before had a minister traveled constantly from one meetinghouse to another in such a fashion. With criers and newspaper bulletins preceding him, Whitefield drew crowds of almost unbelievable size whenever he reined in his horse. Perry Miller has described his sweep across Massachusetts and Connecticut in this way: "We must go to such analogies as Peter the Hermit or Savonarola, or possibly the Pied Piper, to grasp what this triumphal progress was like: a whole society was stricken and convulsed."³⁸

Early Monday morning, October 13, Whitefield's peregrination began toward Northampton. After speaking at Concord that afternoon, he preached Tuesday morning at Sudbury and about four o'clock in the afternoon he arrived at Marlborough. When he entered the church, he saw Governor Belcher, who had ridden from Boston to hear him preach. At the conclusion of the services, although a heavy rain was falling, the elderly Governor accompanied Whitefield and his party of admirers fifteen miles on to Worcester. The next morning Belcher and the evangelist rode together to the village square, where Whitefield preached in the open air to several thousands. Following the sermon, the overwrought Belcher kissed and embraced the evangelist, then set out on the return to Boston.

After preaching at Leicester, Brookfield, Cold-Spring, and Hadley, Whitefield arrived in Northampton Friday afternoon. An adequate analysis of his visit with Jonathan Edwards would require a separate study. Perhaps it is sufficient here to say that relations between the two dissimilar personalities

were pleasant, if somewhat strained. In less than three days Whitefield delivered four sermons in Edwards' pulpit and two exhortations at the Northampton parsonage (as well as a sermon in nearby Hatfield). Both Edwards and his congregation wept much, and Whitefield believed that he had not seen "four such gracious meetings" since his arrival in New England.³⁹ A correspondent to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that "A visible presence of God attended the word with such power" during Whitefield's preaching in Northampton "as gave the people hope that GOD would revive his work in the hearts of the inhabitants."⁴⁰ Three years later, Edwards recalled:

The congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon; almost the whole assembly being in tears for a great part of sermon time. Mr. Whitefield's sermons were suitable to the circumstances of the town; containing a just reproof of our backslidings; and in a most moving and affective manner, making use of our great professions, and great mercies as arguments with us to return to God, from whom we had departed. Immediately after this, the minds of the people in general appeared more engaged in religion, shewing a greater forwardness to make religion the subject of their conversation, and to meet frequently for religious purposes. . . .⁴¹

Late Sunday evening, October 20, Whitefield and his host set out to the southward. It would be interesting to know the thoughts of Edwards as he listened to his companion's sermons at Westfield, Springfield, Suffield, and Windsor, and as he witnessed Whitefield's religious exultation occasioned when, in crossing a broken bridge, the Englishman's horse tossed him head first into a mound of sand.⁴² Tuesday evening, after preaching in the East Wind-

³⁹ Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 47.

⁴⁰ Philadelphia, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 13, 1740.

⁴¹ Edwards, *The Works of President Edwards* (New York, 1830), I, p. 160, 161.

⁴² Whitefield, *Journal*, p. 48.

³⁸ Miller, *Jonathan Edwards* (New York, 1949), p. 142.

sonor pulpit of the Reverend Mr. Timothy Edwards, father of Jonathan, Whitefield took leave of his Northampton friend and continued his progress to the south.

Although Whitefield found the ministers and magistrates of Connecticut somewhat less friendly than those of Massachusetts, the people flocked just as willingly to his sermons.⁴³ In swift progression he electrified audiences in Hartford, Weathersfield, Middletown,⁴⁴ Wallingsford, New Haven (where in at least two of the five sermons delivered in that city he "spoke very close to the students" of Yale College, "and shewed the dreadful ill-consequences of an unconverted ministry"), Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Newark, and Stamford. In the afternoon of October 29, Whitefield crossed from Connecticut into the colony of New York.

During the forty-six days of his New England tour Whitefield delivered approximately one hundred sermons in addition to scores of extended exhortations and received over three thousand pounds in currency for his Georgia orphanage.⁴⁵ Immediately following his departure there was a "great flocking" to the Sunday services and to the weekly lectures.⁴⁶ Many ministers, attempting to copy his speaking style, discarded manuscripts to speak extemporaneously.⁴⁷ Numerous eulogies were delivered from the pulpit, and popular veneration of the evangelist grew to such alarming proportions that the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton delivered two sermons entitled "God, and Not Ministers to Have

the Glory of All Success Given to the Preached Gospel."⁴⁸

IV. IN ESTIMATION

The Protasis of the Great Awakening was completed; the Epitasis and Catastrophe were yet to come.

If New England in 1740 was the "right place" and the "right time" for an outburst of religious fervor, Whitefield was eminently the "right person" to provide the necessary stimulus. Without suitable leadership the sluggish forces of revivalism could not have developed into a social movement. A prophet was needed under whose banner of salvation could be aroused an army of the pious and devout. The circumstances of the times required a new voice, a fresh personality, and an unorthodox approach. No New England minister could fit the role. Whitefield supplied the necessary leadership chiefly because: he was the most widely publicized and the most lavishly praised clergyman in the Colonies and perhaps in the Protestant world; he was an experienced hand at stimulating revivals; his theology was conventional, but provided a new emphasis; his ministerial manner was unique and exceedingly effective.

The forty-six days of Whitefield's visit not only served to actuate the Awakening in New England but also to establish the archetype of emotionalism and of ministerial practice which shaped the Epitasis and made inevitable the Catastrophe. With the revival under way and with Whitefield departed, numerous emulators of the English evangelist carried the Awakening to greater heights, then to decline and final dissolution.

Let us look briefly at certain characteristics of the pattern bequeathed by Whitefield: (1) The Awakening, as

⁴³ *Boston Evening Post*, Oct. 29, 1744.

⁴⁴ According to the *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Nov. 6, 1740, about 4,000 persons heard Whitefield's sermon in Middletown.

⁴⁵ *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Oct. 16, 1740.

⁴⁶ *Boston Evening Post*, March 11, 1745.

⁴⁷ *The State of Religion in New England, Since the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Arrival There*, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Nathaniel Appleton, *Mr. Appleton's Sermons Upon the Success of the Preached Gospel* (Boston, 1741).

such, could not have occurred without the almost universal acceptance of convulsionary conversion. However, if physical agitations were to be the *sine qua non* of conversion, were not excesses inevitable? Under the influence of mob psychology, which might be mistaken for the "moving of the spirit," would not riotous disorders sully the current of revivalism? Apparently neither Whitefield nor the clergy knew what any big city policeman of today understands: crowd emotions, once aroused, run rampant unless closely controlled. Although Whitefield's preaching had produced little tendency toward hysteria, it established the mode of sensational evangelism. Sensationalism proved a powerful drug: under the increasingly violent preaching of Whitefield's emulators many persons lost all sense of restraint and indulged in emotional orgies.

(2) By means of itinerating, Whitefield provided the cohesion which fused the varietal religious forces into the Great Awakening. Following his departure, a host of imitators, both ordained and lay ministers, spread over New England. For a time even Jonathan Edwards became a horseback itinerant. By 1743 many persons believed itineracy to be the "grand engine" producing the turmoil of the Decline of the Awakening.⁴⁹

(3) The traditional New England deity was a personal God, who was concerned with one's daily activities, and who dispensed good-fortune or pestilence as divine judgment. Therefore, few persons were disturbed when Whitefield attributed his thoughts, emotions, sermon content, and even mundane experiences, to the interposition of God. Immured within his delusion, Whitefield posed as a direct mediator between God

and the members of his audiences. Unlike Whitefield who kept the assumption of divine inspiration within fairly reasonable bounds, some of his followers went to almost pathological extremes. Any strong conviction was a message from the Lord; any disagreement or skepticism was persecution and the "devil's work."⁵⁰ By 1743, after many months of enthusiastic claims by sometimes crazed zealots,⁵¹ it seemed apparent to growing numbers of New Englanders that Whitefield and his imitators were not only mortals but were deluded ones.

(4) Whitefield's tactless criticism of the clergy and the colleges of New England led his emulators to deliver frenzied tirades. Such censorious judging resulted in the dismissal of some ministers and the division of various churches into revivalistic and conservative wings. So widespread grew the confusion that increasing numbers of sober-minded persons began to question whether such inquisitorial practices could represent the work of God.

Although his career stretched some thirty years into the future, Whitefield's New England tour of 1740 was to remain his greatest triumph. It is possible that if he had remained longer in the northern colonies his victory might have been even more remarkable. Under his active leadership the Awakening might have avoided some of the extremes attending the evangelism of his emulators; public revulsion for the revival might have been delayed or prevented; and the Awakening might have exerted a more significant influence upon Colonial history.

⁵⁰ *The Declaration of the Association of the County of New Haven* (Boston, 1745), p. 4.

⁵¹ For example, in 1742 James Davenport, one of the most zealous New Light evangelists, was pronounced insane by Massachusetts authorities and deported to his home on Long Island.

⁴⁹ *Boston Evening Post*, Oct. 24, 1743.

AN OBJECTIVE AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FIVE METHODS OF TRANSMITTING INFORMATION TO BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYEES*

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AN extensive examination of the literature reveals much concerning communications in business and industry, but relatively few attempts to determine in an objective manner the effectiveness of different methods of communication.¹

The purpose of this study was to determine objectively the effectiveness of five methods of communications used in transmitting information from management to employees in business and industrial situations. The information was transmitted under actual working conditions, and was of the type which business and industry attempt to communicate.

Specifically the following aspects of the problem were investigated:

1. If management wishes to transmit to its employees some information it considers important, which of the following methods is likely to be most effective?

- a. Presenting the information to the group orally, using no written materials or visual aids. (Oral only.)

- b. Presenting the information to each member of the group in written form, with no supplementary oral or visual explanation. (Written only.)

- c. Presenting the information in both oral and written forms. (Oral and written.)

- d. Posting the information on a bulletin board. (Bulletin board.)

- e. Making no presentation of the information in either oral or written form. (Grapevine only.)

In methods *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*, a deliberate effort was made to transmit information. In method *e* no information was transmitted other than by the operation of what is commonly referred to as the *grapevine*. This last method was used on a control group since this factor was operative in all groups involved.

2. What differences in the amount and accuracy of the information transmitted can be attributed to the time of presentation of the material?

3. How does length of service ("old" and "new" employees) affect the results obtained?

4. How do results obtained from a business or industrial population compare or contrast with results obtained from a student population using similar material and similar methods of transmission?

The search for answers to the above questions is important. Whenever the transmission of an idea is attempted for the purpose of achieving understanding it is desirable to know which method is most likely to produce the desired results.

There are, of course, in any communication situation many variables. It was beyond the scope of this study to examine the effect of each variable under all possible conditions. It was

*Based upon Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1953, directed by P. E. Lull.

¹ Chap. I of the writer's dissertation contains a detailed review of the literature bearing upon this research problem.

possible, however, to study some of the basic questions by limiting the experiments to practical situations in which there were fewer variables.

I. EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

In planning the study a preliminary experiment was conducted to develop a design for testing communications. This experiment tested seven different methods of transmitting information to a student population.

The same basic research design was then applied to the industrial experiment in which four methods of transmitting information were tested and the business experiment in which five methods were tested. The following criteria were applied in all experiments:

a. *The material* should be of significance to communicator and communicatee, essentially informative rather than persuasive, realistic, and relatively non-controversial.

b. *The length of the communication* should be such that it could be presented within a period of ten to fifteen minutes and of sufficient length so that enough non-overlapping test questions could be devised to permit statistical inferences.

c. *The methods chosen for transmission of the information* were to be those that are widely used in business and industrial communications and would provide a variety of means of transmission.

d. *The nature of the populations* involved in the experiments was intended to offset somewhat the common criticism of generalizations based upon experimental evidence collected with one type of population when applied to other populations. Thus one of the populations studied was composed of university students, one was composed of industrial employees, and one was composed of business employees.

e. *The persons transmitting the in-*

formation were to be those from whom communicatees normally received information. Instructions and prefatory remarks were standardized as a means of controlling individual differences in presentation.

II. EXPERIMENTS AND RESULTS

A. Experiment One—The Preliminary Experiment.

The objective of this experiment was to test seven methods of transmitting information to a student population, and in so doing to develop a design for the studies to follow.

The subjects were students enrolled in the beginning public speaking classes at Purdue University during the 1952-1953 academic year. Data were collected on 1030 students representing all of the schools of the university. Approximately 22% of the subjects were female and 78% male.

The material chosen for transmission to the subjects was included in a syllabus which contained factual and informative material about the courses, and was considered to be important to both communicator and communicatee. Although subjects were enrolled in two beginning speech courses the form and content of the syllabi were similar.

The amount of information to be transmitted was limited in order that the communication be of reasonable length. The material pertained to instructions, materials required, and an outline of course procedure.

In this experiment the five methods listed above were tested and, in addition, the following two methods:

1. The *office* method in which subjects were told to pick up individual copies of the syllabus in the speech office.

2. An *oral and written* method in

which subjects were permitted to ask questions about portions of the syllabus.

Each of these seven methods was used in seven different class groups and the *oral only* method in one additional class group.

A mimeographed letter explaining the project and including printed instructions was furnished each instructor. In addition the experimenter held personal interviews with each instructor immediately preceding the class in order to answer questions relative to the procedure to be followed.

In all oral presentations the material was read by the instructor. This reduced the possibility of variations in the presentations and was in line with common practice in these classes. The *bulletin board* method was used in seven different classrooms where no other speech class met during the semester.

The use of the control groups for the purpose of checking operation of the *grapevine* seemed justified since it did not interfere with their function as control groups, but did provide data concerning one means of securing the information.

The total number of instructors involved in the teaching of the fifty classes which formed the experimental group was twenty-two. No instructor was responsible for more than four classes nor did any instructor make the same presentation more than twice.

An effort was made to schedule the presentations so that all seven methods were employed during the same hour of the day. This made it possible to test statistically for differences resulting from the time factor.

The measuring instruments were tests based on the material contained in the syllabi. Each test consisted of ten multiple choice questions. There was only one correct answer to each question

and all questions had four alternative choices. Subjects were not required to identify themselves.

The reverse side of the test sheets contained space for indicating sources from which the student might have derived information upon which answers were based.

Tests were administered at the beginning of the fourth meeting of the class. This seemed to allow sufficient time for designated subjects to obtain copies of the material and read it, or to examine posted copies. Each instructor spent the first fifteen minutes of the fourth period in administering the test.

Results and Analysis of Data. Each acceptable test paper was checked for the number of questions answered correctly, the number answered incorrectly, and the number omitted. Since business and industry are probably most interested in the amount of correct information which is communicated to employees, the analysis was made on the basis of correct answers.

Since all seven methods were simultaneously tested at three different hours of the day it was possible to determine the effects of *time* of class meeting. After having orthogonalized the data according to a procedure outlined by Snedecor,² the effect of *times* was tested by completing a two-way analysis of variance of the type described by Dixon and Massey.³ The resultant F ratio for *times* was less than 1 and indicated no differences due to *time* of presentation. The *methods* F ratio was 10.15 which was significant at the 1% level and indicated there were differences among methods. The *interaction term* F ratio

² George W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods*, 4th ed., (Ames, Iowa, 1946), p. 406.

³ Wilfrid J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, *Introduction to Statistical Analysis* (New York, 1951), p. 290.

was 3.80 and was also significant at the 1% level.⁴

A one-way analysis of variance using all of the raw scores was then performed to test for significant differences between the mean scores for the various methods. The results of this analysis confirmed the results of the two-way analysis of variance and indicated differences significant at the 1% level in the effects of the different methods. This analysis also indicated differences significant at the 1% level between performance of classes after the *methods* effect was eliminated. As to these latter differences there is room for speculation inasmuch as an attempt was made to standardize the manner of presentation in each class.

The next step was to determine which method or methods were superior. This was done by computing a mean score for each method and analyzing these means according to a procedure outlined by Tukey.⁵ The mean scores used in this analysis are indicated in Table I.

The analysis based upon Tukey's test indicated that at the 5% level of significance the two forms of the *oral and written* methods were not significantly different from each other, but were significantly different from the *oral only* method. The *oral only* method was significantly different from either the *office* method or *written only* method, but the latter two did not differ significantly from each other. The *bulletin board* method and *grapevine* method did not differ significantly from each other but were significantly different from the *office* method and *written only* method.

⁴ For an explanation of interaction term significance see Dixon and Massey, p. 137.

⁵ John W. Tukey, "Comparing Individual Means in the Analysis of Variance," *Biometrics*, American Statistical Association, V (June, 1949) 99.

TABLE I
ORDERED MEANS FOR METHODS USED IN
PRELIMINARY EXPERIMENT

Method	Mean Score	Number of Subjects
Oral and written plus explanation	6.60	137
Oral and written with no explanation	6.51	144
Oral only	5.31	161
Office	4.60	146
Written only	4.55	133
Bulletin board	3.52	152
Grapevine only (control groups)	2.88	157
		1030

*Dotted lines between methods indicate differences significant at the 5% level or better by the Tukey test.

B. Experiment Two—The Industrial Experiment.

The objective of this experiment was to test the effectiveness of methods of communication comparable to those of the preliminary experiment in transmitting information to an industrial population. The industrial experiment was conducted in the Rostone Corporation plant in Lafayette, Indiana. This corporation manufactures molded plastics and building materials.

The subjects were 84 employees who worked in the six production departments chosen for testing purposes. Of the total number of employees who indicated length of service with this company, 52 were "old" employees (more than one year) and 16 were "new" employees (less than one year).

The communication material was derived from the Employees Handbook which is furnished to each employee at the time of hiring. Portions of six paragraphs of the section dealing with Insurance were reproduced and made available for distribution. While the employees may have had some knowledge of the material, analysis of the

results confirmed management's belief that the employees did not possess adequate information.

In the industrial experiment four of the methods initially outlined above were tested. However, in the case of the *written only* method the material, plus a cover letter explaining its purpose, was mailed to the homes of the employees concerned instead of being handed to them. The *bulletin board* method was not tested because of administrative limitations.

The procedure followed in this experiment was to call a meeting of company foremen three days prior to the transmission of the information. At this meeting the Rostone Corporation Personnel Officer and the experimenter explained the research project to the seven foremen who served as communicators. They also assigned methods to each foreman, and answered questions relative to the presentations which were to be made. Individual copies of an information sheet containing uniform instructions for making presentations were furnished.

The measuring instrument was again a ten question multiple choice test with four alternative choices for each question and only one correct answer in each case. The questions were examined and approved by the management and wherever possible they were stated in the same phraseology as that of the *Employees Handbook*.

The reverse side of the test form contained spaces for indicating possible sources of answers to the questions and also length of employment with the company. A cover sheet explaining the purpose of the test as well as instructions for its completion was attached to each test copy. Instructions were similar to those of the preliminary experiment.

The test was administered forty-eight hours after the original presentation and

was completed during the first fifteen minutes of each shift. All testing was thus completed within a twenty-four hour period.

Results and Analysis of Data. The statistical analyses included in the research design for the preliminary experiment were applied to the data gathered in this experiment. To test for differences *between units within methods* as well as to test for differences *between methods*, a one-way nested analysis of variance was computed.⁶ The F ratio for the *between methods* term was 26.10, indicating differences significant at the 5% level in the effects of the various methods. The F ratios for *units within the oral and written, the written only, and the grapevine only* methods, were less than 1.00, 1.74, and 2.06, respectively. These were not significant at the 5% level and indicated there were no differences *between units within methods*. These findings bear out those of the preliminary experiment.

In order to determine the differences between methods the procedure outlined by Tukey⁷ was again employed and the ordered means are shown in Table II.

The test results indicated that at the 5% level of significance the *oral and written* and *oral only* methods did not differ significantly from each other, but were significantly better than the *written only* method. The *written only* method was significantly better than the *grapevine only* method.

In order to test for differences between "old" and "new" employees in the *oral and written* method and the *oral only* method, a non-orthogonal analysis of variance was computed.⁸ It was based

⁶ R. L. Anderson and T. A. Bancroft, *Statistical Theory in Research* (New York, 1952), p. 325.

⁷ Tukey, p. 99.

⁸ Snedecor, p. 284.

TABLE II
ORDERED MEANS FOR METHODS USED IN
INDUSTRIAL EXPERIMENT

Method	Mean Score	Number of Subjects
Oral and written	7.30	30
Oral only	6.38	13
Written only	4.46	28
Grapevine only (control groups)	3.00	13

*Dotted lines between methods indicate differences significant at the 5% level or better by the Tukey test.

upon 23 "old" employees and 14 "new" employees. The results indicated that the difference between scores of "old" and "new" employees was significant at the 5% level, and that *interaction between methods* and "old" or "new" employee classification was not significant.

An examination of the mean scores for "old" and "new" employees on the *oral and written* method and *oral only* method indicated that regardless of method used, "old" employees scored significantly higher, and regardless of "old" or "new" classification the *oral and written* method was significantly more effective than the *oral only* method.

C. Experiment Three—The Business Experiment.

As in the previous experiments the objective was to test the effectiveness of the various methods of communication. The group of employees available in the business experiment was considerably larger than that of the industrial experiment and the contrasting nature of the two enterprises provided a much broader basis for comparison than would otherwise have been possible.

The subjects were employees of five departments of the Chicago, Illinois, facilities of Spiegel, Inc., one of the major mail order-chain store organizations. The departments were selected

at random and all departments were physically separated from each other.

The experimental group numbered 528 and was approximately equally divided among the five groups. Of those who indicated their employment status 235 were "old" employees and 188 were "new" employees.

The communication material consisted of excerpts from the company handbook furnished each Spiegel employee at the time of hiring. Since material of a similar nature proved to be satisfactory in the industrial experiment, it seemed reasonable to assume it would also be appropriate for this experiment.

The material was extracted from sections of the handbook dealing with Old Age and Survivor's Insurance, Sick Benefits, Loans for Medical Care, Vacations with Pay, Pay for Jury Service, and Accident Benefits. As in the industrial experiment analysis of the results showed that while each employee may have had some knowledge of the material, the employees did not seem to possess adequate information.

In the business experiment all five of the methods initially outlined above were tested. In the *written only* method individual copies of the information, plus the attached cover sheet explaining the purpose of the study, were furnished each subject. In the *bulletin board* method a copy of the information was posted on each of six bulletin boards located in one department.

The procedure to be followed was explained to the supervisors concerned at a group meeting which was called by the Personnel Department. At this meeting the project was explained, methods of presentation were assigned, questions relative to the experiment were answered, and materials were distributed.

While terminology differs, the func-

tion of the supervisors was similar to that of the foremen in the industrial experiment. The number of supervisors involved in the experiment was nineteen. Since all groups were physically separated from each other, and since all presentations were made on the same shift, there was no opportunity for a flow of information between groups.

The measuring instrument was of the same type as that used in the preceding experiments. It was based upon the material presented to the business population. A cover sheet similar to that used in the industrial experiment was attached to each copy of the test form. The test was administered forty-eight hours after the original presentation of the material and all testing was done during the same shift hours.

Results and Analysis of Data. The data were subjected to statistical analysis according to the plan established in the preceding experiments. The analysis was simplified in that in all methods the presentations were made at approximately the same time on the same day. Also it was not necessary to test for the effects of *time* since the testing was conducted at the same time during the same day.

In determining the effect of different methods an analysis of variance procedure was used.⁹ The resulting F ratio of 64.79 was significant at the 5% level and indicated that there were differences *between methods*. This bears out the results of the two previous experiments.

The next step was to determine which method or methods were superior to others and for this purpose the Tukey¹⁰ procedure was again used. Table III indicates the ordered means used in the analyses.

The test results based upon the 5%

TABLE III

ORDERED MEANS FOR METHODS USED IN
BUSINESS EXPERIMENT

Method	Mean Score	Number of Subjects
Oral and written	7.70	102
Oral only	6.17	94
Written only	4.91	109
Bulletin board	3.72	115
Grapevine only (control group)	3.56	108

*Dotted lines between methods indicate differences significant at the 5% level or better by the Tukey test.

level of significance indicated that the *oral and written* method was significantly better than the *oral only* method; the *oral only* method was significantly better than the *written only* method; and the *written only* method was significantly better than either the *bulletin board* method or the *grapevine only* method. The latter two methods did not differ significantly from each other.

The differences between "old" and "new" employees were tested by means of Snedecor's¹¹ non-orthogonal analysis of variance procedure. It was based upon 228 "new" employees and 235 "old" employees. The results indicated that the difference between scores of the two groups was significant at the 5% level. An examination of the mean score for "old" and "new" employees showed that regardless of method used, "old" employees scored significantly higher than "new" employees, and regardless of "old" or "new" classification the methods retained the relative effectiveness indicated in Table III.

III. CONCLUSIONS

In any study such as this the results are applicable with any certainty only to situations analogous to those of the

⁹ Anderson and Bancroft, p. 325.

¹⁰ Tukey, p. 99.

¹¹ Snedecor, p. 284.

experiment. Subject to this limitation the analysis of the data experimentally derived seems to justify the following conclusions:

A. The general conclusion reached was that in all three experiments there were statistically significant differences in results when material was presented using the different methods.

B. Regarding the more specific aspects of the problem it was found that:

1. Measured in terms of results obtained, the methods of transmission tested ranked in the following order, from most effective to least effective (no better than chance):

- a) Oral and written.
- b) Oral only.
- c) Written only.
- d) Bulletin board.
- e) Grapevine only (control groups).

In all experiments results were measured in terms of number of correct answers to test questions. *The ranking of the methods as to effectiveness of transmission of information was similar in all three experiments regardless of population.*

In the industrial experiment the results indicated the effectiveness of the *oral and written* method and the *oral only* method to be the same. However, when effects of "old" and "new" employees were taken into account the *oral and written* method had relatively the same superiority over the *oral only* method as appeared in the other cases.

2. The time of presentation of the material had no significant effect upon the amount and accuracy of the information transmitted.

This conclusion is based upon material transmitted by seven different methods to subjects in the preliminary experiment and material transmitted by the *oral and written* method to subjects

of two shifts in the industrial experiment.

3. Regardless of method used "old" (more than one year) employees scored higher than "new" (less than one year) employees.

This conclusion was based upon the analysis of scores of 23 "old" employees and 14 "new" employees in the industrial experiment and scores of 235 "old" employees and 208 "new" employees in the business experiment.

4. The results obtained from industrial and business populations were similar to those obtained from a student population using similar material and similar methods of transmission.

How do the results of this study apply to the problems of communication in business and industry? Tentatively, the evidence indicates that if management wishes to transmit certain types of factual information to its employees, the best results will be obtained if this information is presented orally and if at the same time printed material concerning the information is distributed. Such procedure will definitely be more effective than to rely on oral presentation alone, or on distribution of written material alone.

At the same time it is recognized that in the practical situation other factors would need to be taken into consideration. For example, management would have to weigh the importance of effective transmission against the cost of taking the men away from their jobs long enough to hear the oral presentation. However, one of the implications of the results obtained in this research is that the cheapest method of transmission may not be the best method if it makes a difference whether or not the employees receive the information in the quantity and form (accuracy) desired by management.

THE PLAYING TIME AND MANNER OF DELIVERY OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS IN THE ELIZABETHAN THEATRE

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THE problem of this paper arises from references to the two-hour playing time of theatrical productions in Shakespeare's time, such as the reference to "the two hours traffic of our stage." This phrase suggests certain questions: is it, with others like it, to be taken at face value? how long were productions at the Globe or at the Fortune? were the plays produced in continuous performance? were they cut? did the physical conditions of the Elizabethan theatre require a rate and form of delivery different from our own? how did Elizabethan acting differ in style from the modern manner?

Examination of the play texts themselves reveals some of the answers, but, because of the temporal quality of the art of the theatre, others are difficult. We share the regret of Cibber when he praised Betterton:

Pity it is that the momentary Beauties flowing from an harmonious Elocution cannot, like those of Poetry, be their own Record! That the animated Graces of the Player can live no longer than the instant Breath and Motion that presents them, or at best can but faintly glimmer through the Memory or imperfect Attestation of a few surviving Spectators. Could *how* Betterton spoke be as easily known as *what* he spoke, then might you see the Muse of Shakespeare in her Triumph, with all her Beauties in their best Array rising into real Life and charming her Beholders. But alas! since all this is so far out of the reach of Description, how shall I shew you Betterton?¹

First, what help are the play texts themselves in determining playing time?

¹ From Colley Cibber's *Apology* (1740), quoted by Donald Brook, *A Pageant of English Actors* (London, 1950), p. 42.

Among references to the two-hour playing time are lines like these: from *The Doubtful Heir*, "the battle will be ended in two hours"; from *Love's Pilgrimage*, "a good tale told in two hours"; from *The Unfortunate Lovers*, "in two hours be given you here"; and from *The Alchemist*, "these two short hours." Between 1610 and 1642 three-hour references are found in the epilogues of *The Loyal Subject*, *If It Be Not Good*, and *The Guardian*, and in the prologue to *The Lover's Progress*.

T. S. Graves has argued that the indefinite "two hours" can mean anything less than a full three hours,² but Hart's position, that the writer's words are plain and should be taken at face value, seems sounder:

Prior to 1614 at least a dozen allusions were made by ten very important dramatists and actors connected with the principal companies and theatres to the prevalent custom of allotting two hours to the representation of a play. Only one dramatist speaks of a three-hour playing time; beyond this statement there is not a scrap of evidence in favour of any other than two-hour plays. I prefer to take the words of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and the rest in their literal sense, because each one of these poets could always find the right words for anything that he wished to say.³

Moreover, "three hours" would fit the metre of a line as well as "two hours."

Alfred Hart has assembled a formidable amount of data on the number of lines contained in plays of Shakespeare's

² Thornton Shirley Graves, "The 'Act-Time' in Elizabethan Theatres," *Stud. in Philology*, XII (1915), 103.

³ Alfred Hart, "The Time Allotted for Representation of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays," *Rev. of Eng. Stud.*, VIII (1932), 402.

day, a summary of which follows. His count, based upon the 1863-66 Cambridge edition of Shakespeare's plays, differs from Fleay's, made from the same text in the Globe edition. Hart's totals are computed by requiring that the line of dramatic prose shall be as nearly as possible equal in word-value to the line of blank verse. In 1930 E. K. Chambers revised Fleay's tables which first appeared in 1878 in the *Shakespeare Manual*. Hart gives his own figures, Fleay's, and Chambers'; here only Hart's are given.

Excluding *I Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Timon of Athens*, *Pericles*, and *Henry VIII*, Hart found, in the Cambridge edition, thirty-one plays by Shakespeare averaged 2794 lines a play. The count, with these six plays included, shows an average of 2752 lines a play. (Fleay's average for Shakespeare's thirty-seven plays is 2860, Chambers' is 2864.) Hart disagrees, therefore, with the generalization that the normal length of an Elizabethan drama was 3000 lines, saying this normal length is at the mercy of printer and publisher. Indeed, "It can be proved that the average length of all plays with sound texts written for representation on the public stage during the years 1590-1616 did not much exceed 2500 lines, and that, apart from Shakespeare and Jonson, five dramatists only out of about forty wrote even one play of the alleged 'normal length'."⁴

Upon close scrutiny of ten plays by Shakespeare Hart finds the average of eight words to the blank verse line to be the "standard" value in words, and, in thirty plays in the Cambridge edition, the average of eight and eight-tenths words to the prose line (the Globe edition has a bigger number of prose

lines than does the Cambridge). In a detailed statistical table he gives the total number of lines per play and the total number of prose lines within each play, the totals ranging from 1753 lines for *Comedy of Errors* to 3600 for *Richard III*. Twenty-four plays show a total between 2000 and 3000 lines.

Hart says the critics have been guessing on this matter ever since Fleay first published his figures, although the matter is one of arithmetic, not of opinion. During the course of his investigation Hart counted the lines of 233 plays, including all but two of the extant plays known to have been written for or acted on the public stage between 1590 and 1616, using E. K. Chambers' chronological list. Differences in count usually show up in the prose lines, but sometimes critics have counted lines of stage direction and each line of verse even when two or more lines go together to make up a complete blank verse line.

Hart's results show that, between 1590 and 1616, excluding plays by Shakespeare and Jonson, there were seven plays of more than 3000 lines, 178 of less than 3000. Of these 178, a mean length of 2440 is found for 167, leading Hart to believe the practice of writing plays too long to be acted originated with Shakespeare. Yet the 3000 line play is not Shakespeare's "normal" play, since, although he had eleven plays above that limit, he wrote twenty-four below it. Ben Jonson must have thought length a merit: his plays average over 800 lines a play more than Shakespeare's. Between 1594 and 1616 Shakespeare's plays average 2744 lines, against a general average for all plays, excluding Jonson's, of 2490. Deducting the lines of the ten histories, Shakespeare's average for this period is 2671. Of the 205 plays Hart found to run between 3400 and 1600 lines, there are 103 above and 102 below

⁴ Alfred Hart, "The Number of Lines in Shakespeare's Plays," *R.E.S.*, VIII (1932), 24.

2500 lines the mean of the highest and lowest.⁵

Obviously, in any theatre period, the line length of a play will be related to playing time, and the time allotted for productions will in turn affect the length of a play's acting version. Today we expect the curtain to rise at 8:30 and to fall for the last curtain-call about 10:30, rarely at 11:00 or later. We count upon one and usually two ten-minute intermissions. What were the expectations of the Elizabethan theatre-goer?

On October 8, 1594, Lord Hunsdon wrote the Lord Mayor of London to say that instead of beginning at 4:00 his company would start the play at 2:00 and "haue don between fower and five," to meet the objection that the theatres kept sons, apprentices and servants out too late at night. (Since most Elizabethans began their day at dawn or earlier, often as early as 4 a.m., 2 p.m. must not have been the awkward hour it seems to most of us.) Prior to 1594 some performances, apparently, began at 3:00 and others at 4:00, in both private and public theatres. The earthquake of April 6, 1580, occurring about 6:00 in the evening, disturbed many people in the playhouses, according to Holinshed. It has been suggested that the hour of starting had nothing to do with daylight, but did have something to do with the supper hour; late sixteenth century records indicate that nobility, gentry, and students ate between 5:00 and 6:00, the London merchants about 6:00, and farmers between 7:00 and 8:00. Diaries tell of going from the theatre straight to supper. Whatever the reason, Lord Hunsdon's letter indicates that the convenience of the public was served by ending the play before 5:00.

⁵ v. Hart, *ibid.* and also: "The Length of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays," R.E.S., VIII (1932), 139-54; "Acting Versions of Elizabethan Plays," R.E.S., X (1934), 1-28.

There is some evidence that the performance lasted two hours whether the line length of the play was short or long. Hart believes that the *Romeo and Juliet* line, "two hours traffic of our stage," probably excludes the time given to music and the "inevitable jig," stating that the Quarto version of 2215 lines would play in less than two hours, but the 1599 version of 2989 lines in more than two and a half hours. Hart also cites lines from the Prologue to *The Alchemist*: "Fortune, that fauors Fooles, these two short howers/We wish away; both for your sakes, and ours,/Iudging Spectators." Yet the play contains 3066 lines, which Hart estimates would consume two hours and forty minutes. Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* affords another example: the prologue says,

Those that come to see
Onely a show or two, and so agree
The play may passe: If they be still, and willing,
He undertake may see away their shilling
Richly in two short houres.

This play is 2807 lines and, with its ceremonies and procession, would probably run two and one-half hours. So would *The Noble Kinsmen* (c. 1613, probably by Fletcher), in which the prologue states, "You shall hear/Scenes, though below his Art, may yet appear/
Worth two hours travel." Middleton's *Mayor of Quinborough* has 2249 lines, which could be acted entire in the two hours to which the prologue refers, "If all my powers/Can win the grace of two poor hours,/Well apaid I go to rest."

According to Hart, this is the extent of the evidence about playing time to be found in plays acted by the Chamberlain-King's Men between 1597 and 1616, and it is noteworthy that

Jonson and Shakespeare, who between them wrote three-fourths of all the plays over 3000 lines in length, both speak of 'two short hours' as the time allotted for plays that could not even be read aloud in the time by anyone, unless he raced along without a moment's inter-

ruption at the extraordinary speech of 200 words a minute.⁶

It appears that playing time in other theatres of the period was about the same. Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*, acted about 1605 at the Fortune, contains 2550 lines which would take a little less than two and a quarter hours, the time mentioned in its lines: "There hold it but two howres, It shall from Graves/Raize up the dead." The only dated reference to a three hour performance, prior to 1616, Hart finds in Dekker's *If It Be Not Good, The Devil Is In It*, which, acted at the Red Bull in 1611, refers to "three hours of mirth." This play of 2700 lines could be performed, without cutting, in two hours and twenty minutes. Perhaps second-class theatres like the Red Bull gave longer performances to attract an audience, somewhat like our own theatres which show double features. Heywood, probably an actor in this play of Dekker's, however, refers to two-hour playing time in his *Apology for Actors* (1612). William Percy and Middleton, both of whose plays were acted by the Children of St. Paul's, comment upon a two-hour performance. At Whitefriars, between 1607 and 1608, the Children of the King's Revels played *Ram Alley*, which closes with the words, "Thus two hours have brought to end,/What many tedious hours have penned." In 1613 the sheriff arrested the players of Robert Tailor's *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl* (1951 lines) before they got to the epilogue lines, "For this, our author saith, if't prove distasteful,/He only grieves you spend two hours so wasteful."

Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, acted at the Hope, would take three and a half to four hours with its 4344 lines, but in its Induction Jonson asks the "Spectators and Hearers" to promise "to remaine in

the places, their money or friends have put them in, with patience, for the space of two houres and a halfe, and somewhat more. In which time the Author promiseth to present them . . . with a new sufficient Play called Bartholmew Fayre."

Thus, two-hour references to playing time are made by Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Percy, Middleton, Tailor, and Dekker, although Dekker also speaks of three hours and Jonson of more than two and a half. Dated references to two-hour plays begin in 1597 and are found up to 1613; in 1611 and in 1614 there are two references to longer than two-hour playing time. The two-hour productions took place at five different theatres and were played by four different acting companies.

William Poel was first to advance the view that a continuous performance would account for two-hour playing time:

A play was a continuous performance given without pause from beginning to end, and the dramatists, in compliance with the custom, used the double story, so often to be found in the plays of the time, in order that the movement should be continued uninterruptedly. The characters in each story appeared on the stage in alternate scenes, with every now and then a full scene in which all the characters appeared together. Ben Jonson condemned this form of play. He ridiculed the use of short scenes, and the bringing on to the stage of characters in pairs. Yet he himself found it necessary to conform to the requirements of the day, as is shown in his first two comedies, written to be acted without pause from beginning to end. Later he adopted the Terentian method of construction, that of dividing the plays into acts and making each act a complete episode in itself.⁷

A few pages later Poel remarks:

Only a few of the plays which were written for the public stage were divided into acts; and even in the case of a five-act drama it was not thought necessary to mark each division with

⁶ Hart, "The Time Allotted . . .," R.E.S., VIII (1932), 398.

⁷ William Poel, *Shakespeare in the Theatre* (London, 1913), p. 14.

an interval, since the jigs and interludes were reserved for the end of the play. So with efficient elocution and no 'waits' the Elizabethan actors would have got through one-half of a play before our modern actors could cover a third.⁸

The matter of "efficient elocution" will be discussed later, but a little more should now be said about act divisions. J. Dover Wilson, Crompton Rhodes, and Harley Granville-Barker, among a few others, agree with Poel that Shakespeare's plays were enacted in his own theatre without act division. On the other hand, T. S. Graves finds stage directions indicating acts, although printed plays often omitted the intermissions. He cites Jonson's *The Devil Is an Ass*:

Today I go to the Blackfriars play-house,
Sit in the view, salute all my acquaintance,
Rise up between the acts.

Some evidence exists that money was collected between acts; in 1663 a royal warrant forbade evasion of the entrance fee by coming in during the fourth or fifth act. Graves finds evidence for inter-act songs, music, and dumb-shows, mentioning lines from the prologue of Davenant's *Wits* as evidence of inter-act jigs: "So country jigs and farces, mixt among/Heroic scenes, make plays continue long."

To those who point to the Quartos which lack act markings, Graves replies that these are worthless evidence, being printed to be read, not acted. There are great differences between a quarto and a drama's playhouse version. It is to the latter, or the author's copy, that Graves believes one must go for the truth about act divisions. He points out that in Shakespeare's 1623 folio all but nine of the thirty-six plays are divided into five acts, and only six have no act

divisions, which can be accounted for by haste in publishing.⁹

Moreover, the five act requirement was conventionally accepted from 1590, or earlier, to 1642. Renaissance writers, critics and dramatists alike, turn to the dicta and practice of the classics to determine matters of construction. In his *Ars Poetica* Horace stated that tragedy always had five acts; Donatus and Servius pointed to Terence's five-plot stages calling these divisions "acts"; and indeed Aristotle himself was also an authority for the five act structure. Full and scholarly treatment of the development of the formula from 1470 to Shakespeare's day will be found in T. W. Baldwin's *Shakespeare's 5-Act Structure* (Urbana, 1947.)

W. W. Greg presents evidence from extant plays, printed between 1591 and 1610, that

as a general rule, the prompt-books of plays performed by children's companies at private theatres were divided into acts, and that the prompt-books of plays performed by men's companies at public theatres were not. . . . But I think that the step from the form of the prompt-book back to the conditions of performance, obvious as it seems at first sight, may very likely conceal pitfalls which do not appear on the surface.¹⁰

Pointing to Quarlous' lines in *Bartholomew Fair*, "We have had wonderful ill-luck, to miss this prologue of the Purse; but the best is, we shall have Five Acts of him ere Night," W. J. Lawrence finds proof for the five act division, and he concludes:

Shakespeare's plays were written in the prescribed five acts, and acted in his own day with four intervals. Most likely the intervals were not of any particular duration, hardly more than pauses, but intervals of some kind there certainly were. It must be borne in mind, however, that performances in Elizabethan times were given in the afternoon by natural light, and had to

⁹ Graves, 124-125.

¹⁰ W. W. Greg, "Act Divisions in Shakespeare," R.E.S., IV (1928), 158.

⁸ Poel, p. 17.

be concluded well before supper-time, otherwise six o'clock—a limitation to three hours or thereabouts, which precluded leisurely progression.¹¹

Like Edward Rose, Lawrence, too, finds Shakespeare's structure to be ample evidence of his close attention to act and scene division. For example, in *Twelfth Night* and in *Romeo and Juliet* Shakespeare keeps a hero (Romeo—Viola) off stage throughout the fourth act; the period of keeping a leading character off stage varied 280 to 560 lines, usually running 400 and 560, which "lengthened withdrawal of his principals deliberately aimed at a slaking of tension . . . severely classic in this slowing down . . ."¹²

For the sake of argument, suppose Poel is right; would continuous performance result in a two-hour playing time? Not without cutting the play, for Hart's position seems reasonable that it is ridiculous to imagine Burbage or any other Elizabethan actor galloping through a play at 200 or more words a minute. E. K. Chambers acknowledges that cutting was a theatrical practise and says *Hamlet* was probably "always too long for performance as a whole."¹³ Hart says it was, by 1350 lines. Moreover,

Almost all plays in manuscript contain passages marked for omission, most of which do not appear to have been made in compliance with order of the censor. . . . The number of lines cut out by the actors does not appear to have borne much relation to the length of the play. Thus 196 lines, mostly in short passages or two or three lines, were cut out of the short play *Edmond Ironside*, whilst only 104 lines disappear from the long chronicle play *I Richard II*.¹⁴

¹¹ W. J. Lawrence, *Speeding Up Shakespeare* (London, 1937), p. 16.

¹² Lawrence, p. 51.

¹³ E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), I, p. 229.

¹⁴ Hart, "Acting Versions of Elizabethan Plays," R.E.S., X (1934), 4.

Humphrey Moseley's address, prefixed to the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Works*, contains a reference to the custom of cutting:

When these Comedies and Tragedies were presented on the Stage, the Actours omitted some Scenes and Passages (with the Author's consent) as occasion led them; and when private friends desir'd a Copy, they then (and justly too) transcribed what they acted. But now you have both all that was then Acted, and all that was not; even the perfect full originals without the least mutilation.¹⁵

Hart finds no evidence that Shakespeare was so highly regarded in his own day that he was never cut, although only seven of his plays would appear short enough without cutting: *Comedy of Errors* (1770 lines), *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (2193 lines), *Midsummer Night's Dream* (2102 lines), *The Tempest* (2015 lines), *Macbeth* (2084 lines), *Timon* (2299 lines), and *Pericles* (2331 lines). Hart suggests that Shakespeare's so-called "bad quartos" are corrupt abridgments of acting versions made by the actors from the authentic texts. Critics of Shakespeare seem to agree in general that differences in length between quarto and folio versions are due to cuts made to shorten the play for the stage, but Hart says these cuts could not have been the only ones made, since there remains too wide a range in the number of lines. He concludes that acting versions of Shakespeare's plays ran about 2300 lines. With Shakespeare began, and with him went out, the practice of writing plays too long to be enacted without cuts (the average length of new plays fell sharply after 1616); when Shakespeare began to write a play "the poet-artist took charge and pushed the actor-sharer into the background."¹⁶

Reference has been made to the actor's "efficient elocution." The next question

¹⁵ Hart, "Acting Versions . . .," 11-12.

¹⁶ Hart, "Acting Versions . . .," 27.

then is, what factors, if any, in the acting style of the Elizabethan theatre account for the two-hour playing time. How much more simply this could be clarified had the Elizabethans left us moving pictures and tape recordings! Then we might presumably have objective accounts of their Burbages and Alleyns. As it is, we are dependent upon a small body of criticism and occasional allusions in other types of writing. To date, the most complete treatment of the subject of acting style in Shakespeare's theatre is B. L. Joseph's *Elizabethan Acting* (London, 1951), based upon a series of lectures given at post-war Oxford, where

the psychological approach opened up by an analysis of the curricula of Renaissance Schools and Universities has shown itself to be extremely valuable . . . to the student of Elizabethan acting their teaching of rhetoric has proved to be most suggestive . . . if one starts from the remarkable proximity in kind of actor and orator that is implied, there is rich material to be found in existing manuals, above all in those treating of 'manuall rhetorick.'¹⁷

Indeed Joseph finds the words "actor" and "orator" used interchangeably and he believes upon reasonable and extensive evidence that "rhetorical delivery" was the style of each. Some critics, relying primarily upon Hamlet's Advice to the Players, have argued that the norm of the Elizabethan style was "natural acting," by which is meant the creation of

an illusion of reality by consistency on the part of the actor, who remains in character and tends to imitate the behaviour of an actual human being placed in his imagined circumstances. He portrays where the formal actor symbolizes. He impersonates where the formal actor represents. He engages in real conversation where the formal actor recites. His acting is subjective and 'imaginative' where that of the formal actor is objective and traditional.¹⁸

Bradbrook envisions Elizabethan formal acting as having comparatively little business, but formalized gesture, conventional movement and heightened delivery. Bethel says there was a mixture of the formal and the natural and reminds us that "all educated conversation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have something of an oratorical air, and that the gap between normal behaviour and stage behaviour, though wide—for verse was used on the stage—would not be so wide as if the same method were employed today."¹⁹ He finds it likely that formal rhetoric was the form of delivery for the longer verse passages; this delivery "shading off" toward naturalism in shorter exchanges of dialogue and in conversational prose. These modes melted into one another gradually, and the audience "accepted the performance on many different planes: the story, the 'inner meaning', the topical references, the vaudeville acts . . . without any sense of conflict."²⁰

To Joseph, Harbage, and others, Hamlet's advice is a plea for quality, not a description of a style of acting: "It advocates moderation and good taste, and could be followed profitably in every detail by a natural actor, a formal actor, a student of elocution, a lawyer, a preacher, a member of Congress, or a coloratura soprano."²¹ A similar plea for moderation is found in Thomas Heywood's *An Apology for Actors* (1612):

To come to Rhetoricke: it not onely emboldens a scholler to speake, but instructs him to speake well, and with judgment to observe his commas, colons, and full points; his parentheses, his breathing spaces, and distinctions; to keepe a decorum in his countenance, neither to frowne when he should smile, nor to make unseemly and disguised faces in the delivery of his words; not to stare with his eies, draw awry his mouth,

¹⁷ A. G. H. Bachrach, "The Great Chain of Acting," *Neophilologus*, XXXIII (1949), 161.

¹⁸ Alfred Harbage, "Elizabethan Acting," *PMLA*, LIV (1939), 687.

¹⁹ S. L. Bethel, "Shakespeare's Actors," *R.E.S.*, N. Ser. 1, 201-2.

²⁰ Bethel, 205.

²¹ Harbage, 690.

confound his voice in the hollow of his throat, or teare his words hastily betwixt his teeth; neither to buffet his deske like a mad man, nor stand in his place like a livelesse image, demurely and plodding, and without any smooth and formal motion. It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronunciation to them both. . . . And this is the action behoovefull in any that professe this quality, not to use any impudent or forced motion in any part of the body, nor rough or other violent Gesture, nor on the contrary to stand like a stiffe starcht man, but to qualify everything according to the nature of the person personated. . . .²²

Here Heywood is also suggesting the principle of decorum, and his statement at the same time answers those who envision Elizabethan acting as recitation unaccompanied by business, which, it has been argued, made possible a two-hour playing time. Kemp is quoted as criticizing a raw player for never speaking as he walks, "just as though, in walking with a fellow, we never speak but at a stile, a gate, or a ditch, where a man can go no farther."²³ Shakespeare's plays abound in descriptions of both places and persons, for example Brutus' speech:

The angry spot doth glow on Caesar's brow;
And all the rest look like a chidden train;
Calphurnia's cheek is pale; and Cicero
Looks with such ferret and such fiery eyes
As we have seen him in the Capitol,
Being cross'd in conference by some senator.

Julius Caesar, I, ii, 182-87

Probably Bulwer, in his *Chironomia* (1644) expressed a generally shared notion: "... man's words would prove naked unlesse the cloathing of Hands doe neatly move to adorne and hide their Nakednesse with their comely and ministeriall parts of speech."²⁴ Shakespeare expresses the theory in such lines as these:

²² Harbage, 690-91.

²³ William Poel, *Some Notes on Shakespeare's Stage and Plays* (London, 1916), p. 9.

²⁴ Bachrach, 167.

Marcus, unknit that sorrow-wreathen knot:
Thy niece and I, poor creatures, want our hands,
And cannot passionate our tenfold grief
With folded arms. This poor right hand of mine
Is left to tyrannize upon my breast;
Who, when my heart, all mad with misery,
Beats in this hollow prison of my flesh,
Then thus I thump it down.

Titus Andronicus, III, ii, 4-11

No, not a word: how can I grace my talk,
Wanting a hand to give it action?

Titus Andronicus, V, ii, 17-18

The head is not more native to the heart,
The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father.

Hamlet, I, ii, 47-49

Bachrach finds Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* stage direction, "Holds her by the hand silent," a highly significant one, referring to an old medieval gesture symbolizing duty and reverential love; the actor using it, taking Volumnia's hand tenderly between his fingers, vividly revealed to Shakespeare's audience Coriolanus' recognition of his duty toward his mother and toward his mother city, Rome.

The Elizabethan actor, then, read his lines with action fit for every word and sentence and "ordered" his voice with regard not only to single words but to whole sentences, finding his first guide in tropes, figures of words, and figures of thought.²⁵ Thought, feeling, and motion were one, and there is no evidence for the separation of the bringing out of literary quality and the acting of a role. One can agree that the emphasis in the Elizabethan theatre was upon audible elements, but the importance of action is indicated again by a quotation from Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612):

Tully . . . requires five things of an orator—
invention, disposition, eloquution, memory, and
pronuntiation; yet all are imperfect without the
sixth, which is action: for be his invention
never so fluent and exquisite, his disposition and
order never so composed and formall, his el-

²⁵ B. L. Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting* (London, 1951), p. 61.

quence and elaborate phrases never so material and pithy, his memory never so ferme and retentive, his pronuntiation never so musical and plausible; yet without a comely and elegant gesture, a gracious and a bewitching kinde of action, a natural and familiar motion of the head, the hand, the body, and a moderate and fit countenance suitable to all the rest, I hold all the rest as nothing. A delivery and sweet action is the glosse and beauty of any discourse. . . .²⁶

Altogether it seems clear no playing time was saved by omitting gesture and action.

One factor of difference between "formal" and so-called "natural" acting has been called "imaginative interpretation," which Harbage believes adds approximately twenty minutes to the playing time of any play. This seems a fair guess. The actor reading the soliloquy as if it were "stream-of-consciousness" material, overheard by no one, will probably use pauses within the speech which would be out of place in the direct address which the Elizabethan actor used. Yet any time made up here might well have been lost by actors' additions of lines, a common practice in the Elizabethan theatre.

Can a mere difference in rate of utterance, words per minute spoken by the actor, explain the two-hour playing time? Several critics have assumed that the physical conditions of the Elizabethan playhouse allowed the actor to use a faster rate than is possible in the proscenium arch theatre. John C. Adams has stated that theatregoers in Shakespeare's day stood or sat within fifty feet of the actor, and H. S. Bennett observes: "The actors were . . . *in medias res* and could rely on those around them absorbing what was said more quickly than is possible in the modern theatre with its fatal division of audience and actors. It is because we have lost this intimacy that most modern productions

of Shakespeare 'drag their slow length along'."²⁷ Possibly. It is easy to see that this intimacy fostered the aside, the use of direct address, and considerable ad libbing, for all of which there is ample evidence, but evidence outside the scope and purpose of this paper. However, the relationship of intimacy and rate is not so obvious; a study might well be made comparing playing times in "theatre-in-the-round" with that of the same plays produced in the proscenium arch theatre. Until the stop-watch is held on such performances the matter remains one of speculation. (It is conceded that in a very large auditorium utterance will have to be slowed down for the sake of distinctness, especially if there are echoes, but most of our playhouses today are medium in size, or small, and the acoustics usually such that the actor makes little adjustment in rate.) The customary estimate for radio rate today is 150-175 words a minute and for legitimate theatre, slightly less than that, 125-150. Hart states that clear diction, without any action, requires one full minute for every twenty-two lines of blank verse—which amounts to a speech rate of 176 words a minute—and one full minute for a trifle more than twenty-one lines of prose in the Cambridge text of Shakespeare's plays. On the basis of these figures, to perform *Romeo and Juliet* without pause would take two hours and sixteen minutes; *The Alchemist*, two hours and nineteen minutes; and *Hamlet*, three hours.

Granted that formal acting was the norm, that there were act divisions occasionally, if not usually, that there was exaggerated movement and plenty of business, that extemporal wit was prized and that actors added speeches, how did

²⁶ Poel, *Shakespeare in the Theatre*, pp. 19-20.

²⁷ H. S. Bennett, "Shakespeare's Stage and Audience," *Neophilologus*, XXXIII (1949), 44.

the actor fit his utterance to a two-hour playing time?

The sensible answer seems that the play *was* cut to 2500 lines or less and also that the Elizabethan rate of utterance was nearer our upper limits for radio rather than to our lower limits for speech in the legitimate theatre. The possibilities for a great variety of rate within the lines of the play have been charted by John W. Draper in a series of studies, in an attempt to "place tempo on as sure a basis as in a Beethoven symphony," but his terms are still subjective ones, "fast," and "slow."²⁸

Certainly good acting in the Elizabethan theatre was *acting*, not mumbling of lines or blurred monotonous reciting in a stentorian tone. The rate of twenty-two lines a minute would equal 1320 an hour, or 2640 in two hours, but No Elizabethan company ever acted a play of 2640 lines in two hours. Entrances, exits, changes of scene, processions, dumb-shows, by-play, sword and buckler fights, rapier and dagger duels, cudgel bouts, stage battles and brawls, incidental music and songs, clowning, and the consequent laughter, and all the multifarious bits of 'stage-business'—everything in fact that distinguishes a well-acted play from reading the same play aloud in the silence of the study—combine to eat up the minutes and reduce the number of lines that can be acted in two hours.²⁹

²⁸ v. John W. Draper, "Patterns of Humor and Tempo in *King Lear*," *Bull. of Historical Medicine*, XXI, 390-401; "Patterns of Humor and Tempo in *Macbeth*," *Neophilologus*, XXXI, 202-7; "Patterns of Humor and Tempo in *Othello*," *Eng. Stud.*, XXVIII, 65-74; "Speech Tempo in Act I of *Othello*," *West Virginia U. Bull., Philological Papers*, V, 49-58; "Tempo in *Love's Labor Lost*," *Eng. Stud.*, XXIX, 129-37.

²⁹ Harbage, 706.

Hart, in an analysis of the business indicated by the lines of *Romeo and Juliet*, estimates that not less than fifteen minutes would be required for time not spent in speaking the lines of the play. With 2300 lines spoken in 105 minutes and 15 minutes of business, a performance of this play would take two hours.

The conclusion is that the usual acting version of 2300 lines, pointed to by Hart's studies, fitted the "two hours traffic of our stage." Wise contemporary directors will cut the Shakespeare play judiciously; they will neither ask the audience seeing *Richard II* to sit from 8:30 to 11:45 nor will they emulate another director who the last week of rehearsal frantically told his *Richard II* cast to cut their own lines, because the show was running too long. They will employ suitable devices of modern staging, but they will not drown Lear's agony with sounds of wind and thunder or Orsino's lovesickness with a small symphony orchestra. If time, money, and energy count, they may well stage the play in front of simple drops, and, remembering that the poetry and its decent utterance are the essentials of Shakespeare's theatre, though they will not seek a return to formal rhetoric, they will find their final criterion in Massinger's play when the Empress Domitia praises the great actor Paris by saying, "He had a tunable tongue and neat delivery."

PERCEPTION OF CERTAIN PHONETIC VARIABLES*

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REPEATED attempts have been made to utilize speech reception hearing tests to indicate hearing loss for pure tones and to reveal medical diagnoses, uses distinct from measuring hearing loss for speech. The common rationale for such tests has been that speech sounds have characteristic frequency regions and that distinctions among speech sounds are dependent upon hearing acuity for those regions. However, these tests generally have not been useful except for rather gross types of aural pathology or audiometric hearing loss. Other research has suggested that factors such as the influence of sounds upon each other¹ or the position of a sound in a syllable² may be important to discrimination among speech sounds. With the development of the sound spectrograph an objective record of the influence of one sound upon another and of the transitional sounds produced is possible. Joos suggested that cues regarding consonant voicing, i.e., whether or not a consonant was produced with vocal tone, and pressure pattern, i.e., whether a consonant were a plosive, a continuant, or an affricate, were the only information a listener gets from the consonant heard in context; other information for identifying the consonant comes from its in-

fluence upon contiguous vowels.³ A pilot study for the present experiment indicated the possibility of influence and other factors contributing to intelligibility of words to different degrees for different types of listeners.⁴

Since phonetic variables other than frequency region may contribute to intelligibility, an experiment using paired word tests and word list tests was designed to test these hypotheses: (1) *The phonetic variables of voicing of consonants, pressure pattern of consonants, and influence of consonants upon vowels are perceived with different degrees of accuracy by auditors, and* (2) *Auditors perceive the considered phonetic variables with various degrees of accuracy according to their types of pure tone audiometric curves or otological diagnoses.*

I. PROCEDURE

A Bell Laboratories sound spectrograph, model D165529, with a wide band (300 c.p.s.) filter was used to make spectrograms of words utilized for the experimental tests. The upper border, beginning, and end of each vowel bar 2 were established (solid white lines). If the second bars of consonants were evident they were marked with broken lines. The beginning of vowel bar 2 was taken to be the place where it first could be established as

*Based upon Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1951, directed by Earl Schubert.

¹ J. C. Steinberg, "Effects of Distortion upon the Recognition of Speech Sounds," *Jour. Acoust. Soc. Amer.*, 1 (1929), 127-129.

² Gilbert Tolhurst, "Audibility of the Voiceless Consonants as a Function of Intensity," *Jour. Speech and Hearing Disorders*, 14 (1949), 214-215.

³ Martin Joos, "Acoustic Phonetics," *Language*, Suppl. 23 (1946), 101-123.

⁴ Bruce Siegenthaler, "A Study of the Relationship between Measured Hearing Loss and Intelligibility of Selected Words," *JSHD*, 14 (1949), 111-118.

being present and continuous with the remainder of the vowel pattern as differentiated from the consonant pattern. The reverse rule was used for determining the end of a vowel bar 2. The heights above the base line of the vowel bar ends were established in c.p.s. The heights are indicated at respective ends of the I.P.A. symbols for the spectrograms in Figure 1. For pairs of words with the same vowel but with different consonants the differences in c.p.s. heights of respective ends of the vowel bars 2 were taken as measures of differences in influence of the consonants upon the common vowel. Figure 1C demonstrates superposition of the bar 2 tracings of spectrograms A and B to illustrate that the words "foe" and "show" have different influence patterns.

The voicing component of consonants appears in spectrograms as a bar near the baseline; consonants without voicing do not have this bar 1. Spectrograms D and E illustrate words similar in influence but different in voicing of consonants.

Pressure pattern, for the present study, refers to the presence or absence of energy or air flow during consecutive short units of time throughout the course of a consonant. Spectrograms F, G, and H illustrate the patterns of consonantal pressure considered. Although voiced consonants usually show voicing energy throughout their duration, this voicing energy is distinct from fricative energy and often is not present during the implosion stage of consonants.

A list of monosyllabic words having the form consonant-vowel-consonant, C-V, or V-C was assembled and given sound spectrographic analysis. Words having consonant blends and semi-vowels were excluded. Because the same speaker (male, 29 years, midwestern speech) spoke all words it was assumed

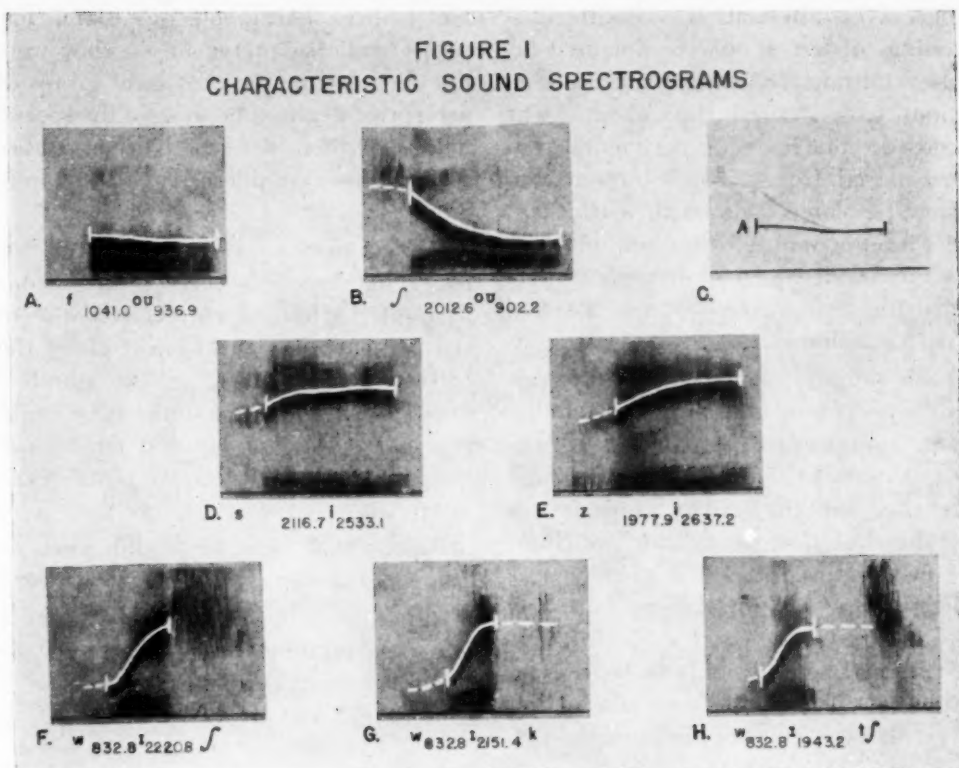
such factors as voice quality, pitch, accent, and rhythm were constant. Words judged unfamiliar to prospective experimental subjects and words for which suitable spectrograms were not obtained unless production of the word were distorted were eliminated. The remaining words (spectrograms) were placed into various types of sets with two or three words each. All words of a given set had the same vowel; consonants were contrasted for phonetic variables. The same C-V-C, C-V, or V-C pattern appeared for all words of a given set, but not for all sets of a given type. One word from each set was selected as the stimulus word.

A group of 45 sets of words (Class A) had similar influence of consonants upon the common vowel, but different voicing of respective consonants. Figure 1 spectrograms D and E illustrate a Class A set of words. Fifteen of these sets had stimulus words with voiced consonants, 15 had unvoiced consonants, and 15 had both types of consonants.

A second group of 45 word sets (Class B) had words intended to differ only in pressure pattern; influence differences were minimized and voicing of respective consonants in a given set was similar. Plosives were contrasted with fricatives, fricatives with affricates, etc. Spectrograms F, G, and H illustrate a Class B set of words.

A third group of 45 word sets (Class C) illustrated by spectrograms A and B was composed to have maximum influence differences and minimum voicing and pressure pattern differences.

Because influence was especially critical to the experiment, influence differences for the classes of word sets were tabulated. The heights of the bar 2 ends of the stimulus word for a set were taken as the reference, and cycle per second deviations of respective ends



of the bars 2 from the reference were computed for the other words in that set. Influence differences were computed both initially and finally even though some word sets did not have final (or initial) consonants. The distributions of influence differences for classes A and B were relatively narrow (0 to 590 c.p.s. for A, and 0 to 382 c.p.s. for B) while the distribution for class C was relatively wide (0 to 1076 c.p.s.). Mean influence differences were 146.8 c.p.s. for class A, 110.7 c.p.s. for class B, and 352.5 c.p.s. for class C.

Words used in the sets as well as other monosyllabic words were sorted into a list containing unvoiced consonants (in addition to a vowel), a list containing voiced consonants, and a list containing voiced and unvoiced consonants: e.g., "fish," "bag," and "seed" respec-

tively. Thirty-five words of each type were selected for familiarity.

The various sets of words were arranged by random scrambling and the stimulus words for the sets were randomly placed to appear first, second, or third in the set listing. The three types of words in the word lists were randomly scrambled together. Subject response forms were prepared to contain all words of each set without the stimulus words indicated, and an appropriate number of blanks for writing word list items. Sets of stimulus words and word lists were recorded in scrambled order at 78 r.p.m. on discs by the same announcer who made the spectrograms. The carrier phrase "The next word is . . ." was used before each test word six decibels above the monitoring level. Spondee word test #14 lists 1A through 2C were recorded in a similar manner without

progressive attenuation. Commercial pressings of test #14 were not used because constant recording-playback conditions were desired throughout. The recorded spondee and experimental tests were played from a control room into a sound isolated room with a transient noise level of about 30 db sound pressure level under testing conditions. Subjects heard the tests through one of a set of PDR 8 earphones.

Each subject was given a routine air and bone conduction pure tone audiogram, spondee threshold, and experimental tests at his spondee threshold intensity. For the sets of words it was the subject's task to indicate which of the two or three words in each set was presented to him; for the word list test he was to write the words he heard. Fifteen normal hearing subjects (pure tone thresholds by air and bone conduction at 15 db or better for frequencies 128-8192 c.p.s. and negative history for aural disease) and 42 hard of hearing subjects were tested. The majority of the hard of hearing subjects were given otological examinations at about the same time as experimental testing. Subjects were 18 to 79 years of age; 27 were males and 30 were females. All normal hearing subjects were below 35 years of age. A wide variety of pathologies was represented by the hard of hearing subjects, and their hearing losses for speech ranged between -4.6 and 66 db.

Subject air conduction audiograms were classified according to Carhart's system⁵ using the categories of flat (F), gradual high tone loss (G), marked high tone loss (M), rising curve (R), and trough shaped (T). An island loss category (I) also was used to designate subjects with pure tone losses at 4096 c.p.s.

⁵ Raymond Carhart, "An Improved Method of Classifying Audiograms," *Laryngoscope*, 55 (1945), 640-662.

and above. (Although the island loss subjects all had nerve losses, they were not included in the otological group of perceptive deafness because of the special nature of their defect.) Normal audiograms were considered as a separate group (N).

Subject test papers were scored for per cent responses correct on various parts of the test. A correct response to an A⁶ item (i.e., the subject chose the correct word in a set as the stimulus word), was interpreted to mean he could perceive a difference in voicing, to a B item that he could perceive a difference in pressure pattern, and to a C item that he could perceive a difference in influence. A correct response to a word list item, i.e., the subject correctly wrote the word presented, was interpreted to mean he could perceive the given type of consonantal voicing.

II. RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of variance, considering all subjects except one who did not do all parts of the experimental testing, with the variables of subjects and test parts gave the results in Table I. The significant F ratios suggest that subjects were differentiated with respect to type of performance measured by the test parts, and that the phonetic variables were responded to differently. In general, the distributions of subject scores on A, B, and C were homogeneous as were the distributions on V, U, and M. However, the standard deviations for all word list test parts were significantly greater (2% level) than for the sets of word tests.

⁶ For convenience the symbols A, B, and C are used to indicate class A, B, and C sets of words respectively; U, V, and M are used to indicate word lists containing unvoiced consonants, voiced consonants, and both types of consonants respectively.

TABLE I
MEAN SCORES AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
ON 56 SUBJECTS

A. Mean Scores and Standard Deviations		
Test Part	Mean % Score*	Standard Deviation
A	89.2	8.2
B	60.9	8.6
C	75.3	11.8
V	38.5	17.5
U	18.6	15.8
M	28.6	15.6

*Each mean different from each other mean at 1% level; see maximum error in Table 1B.

B. Analysis of Variance

Source	Sums of Squares	d.f.	Variance
subjects	20498	55	373
tests	215789	5	43158
remainder	39668	275	144
total	275955	335	

$$F \frac{\text{subjects}}{\text{remainder}} = 2.59 \text{ (sig. beyond 1\% level)}$$

$$F \frac{\text{test parts}}{\text{remainder}} = 229.71 \text{ (sig. beyond 1\% level)}$$

$$\sigma M_D \text{ (test parts)} = 2.3$$

$$\text{max. error (1\% level)} = 5.93 \text{ between test parts mean scores}$$

Inspection of individual subject scores indicated a wide range for each test part. Normal subject scores were scattered throughout the distribution for each test part, as were scores for all other categories of subjects (otological and audiometric). Subjects with marked losses for progressively higher frequencies (excluding the island group) were somewhat distinguished from other subjects, but only to the extent that they tended to be grouped at the high score end of the distribution for class A.

Product moment correlations were computed between amount of hearing

loss for speech and test part scores for subjects with three major types of audiograms. Table II contains the obtained r values. Because the r 's have large sampling errors due to very small samples, the relationship between speech reception threshold and experimental test scores was not demonstrated to be sufficiently strong to allow positive statements regarding the relationship between degree or type of hearing loss and perception of the phonetic variables.

To further test the hypothesis that persons with various types of audiograms or aural pathologies gave distinctive responses to the phonetic variables, the subjects were arranged into a number of audiogram and otological groups according to the categories listed in Table III. Audiogram categories were mutually exclusive, as were otological categories. In some cases the same subjects were included in both an otological and an audiogram group so that the two types of groups were not all mutually exclusive. Scores on each part of the experimental test made by each group were subjected to analysis of variance; each audiogram and otological group was analyzed separately. Mean per cent scores and results of the analyses are in Table III. In view of the consistent trend in Table III for scores on A to be highest for all groups, C scores to be next highest, etc., t test comparisons among mean scores of the otological and among the audiometric groups on each part of the experimental test were done to observe whether some groups heard

TABLE II
RELATIONSHIP (r) BETWEEN HEARING LOSS FOR SPEECH AND EXPERIMENTAL TEST SCORES

Audiogram Group	r between hearing loss and test parts					
	A	B	C	V	U	M
F (N=9)	.61	.47	.19	.43	.76*	.58
G-M-T (N=11)	.68*	-.14	.60*	.40	.23	.50
R (N=9)	.11	.51	.21	.49	.46	.42

*Significantly different from zero at 5% level

TABLE III
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON AUDIOGRAM AND OTOLOGICAL GROUPS.

Audiogram Group	Mean Score on Test parts						F tests error	F subjects error	σ M D	Maximum error at	
	A	B	C	V	U	M				5%	1%
N (N=15)	86.8	53.3	73.5	33.0	17.7	24.4	14.91**	7.47**	3.33	6.7	8.6
I (N=6)	91.8	59.8	76.3	37.7	23.3	27.3	31.28**	16.67**	6.98	14.4	19.5
F (N=9)	90.4	59.9	74.8	37.7	22.9	26.0	88.58**	3.27*	4.15	8.4	11.2
R (N=6)	81.8	62.0	73.0	37.3	17.7	34.7	42.42**	4.54**	5.44	11.1	15.1
G (N=7)	94.4	63.3	71.4	38.4	8.4	22.1	158.74**	1.67	3.63	7.4	10.0
M-T (N=5)	98.2	66.7	76.9	42.3	5.5	27.4	154.08**	9.11**	3.89	8.1	11.1
Otolological Group											
perceptive (N=14)	93.3	68.5	71.6	43.4	14.1	30.0	65.93**	3.90**	5.25	10.5	14.0
conductive (N=5)	87.2	56.4	74.2	33.8	18.8	23.4	97.77**	18.84**	4.15	8.7	11.8
conductive w/perceptive (N=6)	85.5	61.0	77.0	45.7	17.8	36.3	34.27**	.54	6.16	12.7	17.2
otosclerosis (N=8)	85.0	64.5	79.3	38.9	22.6	39.9	64.41**	2.31*	4.64	9.5	12.3
conductive w/o perceptive (N=5)	87.2	56.4	74.2	33.8	18.8	23.4	91.77**	18.84**	4.15	8.7	11.8

(*significant at 5% level; **1% level)

certain parts of the test better than other groups. In these comparisons the only subjects who were distinct in performance were those with audiometric hearing loss beginning in the middle and low ranges and more progressively grave at the higher frequencies to at least 4096 c.p.s. (M-T audiogram group). These subjects as a group were better able to perceive the presence or absence of voicing and less able to recognize words with unvoiced consonants than were the other groups.

The above finding indicates the test for perception of phonetic variables did not differentiate among auditors, with the possible exception of persons with relatively sharply descending audiometric curves, and that normal hearing and conductively deafened persons are more alike in certain aspects of hearing ability (perception of voicing) than is either group like perceptively deafened per-

sons with descending audiometric curves (all subjects in the M-T group had otological diagnoses of perceptively deafness). The island loss group was not distinguished from the normal group in any part of the test, and for unvoiced consonant words it differed from the M-T group in the same manner as the normal group, indicating that for the perception of unvoiced consonants a hearing loss for frequencies 4096 c.p.s. and above is not handicapping. This is in agreement with other research indicating such hearing loss does not impair hearing for so-called "high-frequency" speech sounds.⁷

The over-all lack of significant differences between subject groups on parts of the test, together with significant subject to error variance ratios in Table

⁷ Robert Plummer, "High Frequency Deafness and Discrimination of 'High Frequency' Consonants," *Jour. Speech Disorders*, 8 (1953), 373-381.

III, indicates neither the criterion of pure tone audiogram nor of otological diagnosis was adequate for selecting groups of auditors who were homogeneous in ability to hear the phonetic variables considered.

TABLE IV
INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE SIX TEST PARTS
SCORES FOR 56 SUBJECTS

		Test Parts					
		A	B	C	V	U	M
Test Parts	A		.38	.22	.37	.17	.24
	B	.38		.62	.63	.67	.75
	C	.22	.62		.57	.59	.64
	V	.37	.65	.57		.59	.72
	U	.17	.67	.59	.59		.71
	M	.24	.75	.64	.72	.71	
First Factor Loadings		.396	.859	.738	.830	.774	.848

The experimental data also were evaluated with product moment correlations between scores obtained on each part of the experimental test and scores obtained on each other part of the test for the 56 subjects on whom there were complete data. The intercorrelations are indicated in Table IV. The lower r values associated with Class A suggest discrimination between voiced and unvoiced consonants is relatively independent of performance on other test parts. Using the correlational matrix of Table IV, a factor analysis was done by the Thurstone method.⁸ After removing the first factor loadings indicated in Table IV, first residual r 's all were well below the values required to be significantly different from zero at the 5% level; removal of additional factor loadings was not indicated. The Table IV first factor loadings, having high numerical values with a narrow range, suggest the probable existence of a single general-

ized factor common to all test parts, and therefore common to perception of different phonetic variables considered. The lower loading for Class A suggests the generalized factor is less important in the perception of voicing differences than for perception of the other variables.

The findings indicated above may be summarized into the following conclusions:

1. Auditors with normal hearing are not distinguished from those with non-normal hearing with respect to perception of the phonetic variables of voicing of consonants, pressure pattern of consonants, or influence of consonants upon vowels when speech is heard at speech reception threshold.
2. Auditors with marked hearing loss for middle and high frequencies indicative of perception deafness are better able than normals to perceive differences in voicing, but less able than normals to perceive words with unvoiced consonants at individual speech reception threshold intensity.
3. Hearing losses at 4096 c.p.s. and above do not impair perception of the phonetic variables considered.
4. A test for the phonetic variables considered does not measure the same dimensions of hearing as do pure tone audiograms, speech reception threshold, or otological evaluation.
5. In general, for most types of subjects, voicing differences between consonants are most perceptible, influence differences of consonants upon vowels are next most perceptible, and distinctions among plosive, continuant, and affricate consonants are next most perceptible; words containing only voiced consonants in addition to a vowel are more intelligible than words containing both a voiced and an unvoiced consonant in addition to a vowel, and words containing only unvoiced consonants in addition to a vowel are least intelligible.
6. Individual auditors have a general ability for perception of certain phonetic variables in speech (voicing of consonants, pressure pattern of consonants, and influence of consonants upon vowels) which is not measured by the usual audiometric or otologic procedures.

⁸Charles Peters and Walter Van Voorhis, *Statistical Procedures and their Mathematical Bases* (New York, 1940), pp. 252-277.

THE ORATOR AND THE VIGILANTE IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1856

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THE San Francisco Committee of Vigilance, best known popular tribunal of the American frontier, was organized on May 15, 1856. This Committee was no ordinary mob, exacting quick vengeance at the end of a rope; on the contrary it was a thoroughly disciplined movement, operating under rigid self-imposed rules to rid San Francisco of the criminal and near-criminal elements which dominated the community in the first years of its booming youth. From May 15 to August 18, 1856, the Vigilance Committee actually ruled the city, defied state and federal authorities, and dispensed justice to murderers, thieves, gamblers, and corrupt politicians. At the end of that period, at the height of its power, the Committee declared its work finished and quietly adjourned sine die. Four murderers had been hanged, and one political "shoulder-striker" had committed suicide while under detention in the Committee's headquarters. Twenty-five men accused of various crimes had been forcibly deported under threat of death, and many more had been "advised" to leave, or had quietly departed to healthier climes of their own accord.

But more important to the future of San Francisco than the fate of a few criminals and corrupt politicians was the change in the political attitudes of the citizens. The Vigilantes exposed frauds committed at the ballot box, and exiled the perpetrators, but they also stirred the conscience of the voters and made them determined to secure honest

elections and clean government, an end achieved for the first time in San Francisco history in the municipal elections of 1856. These new attitudes were created in part by the traumatic force of events: the marching of disciplined companies of Vigilante troops, the hanging of murderers, the exiling of political "shoulder-strikers," the arrest by the Committee of Judge David Terry of the California Supreme Court. These events caught the imagination of such historians of the Vigilance movement as Hubert Howe Bancroft in his *Popular Tribunals*. But the new attitudes of citizens were also shaped by words, issuing from the press, the pulpit, and the platform. Bancroft and others reported the role of the press, but the part played by public speakers has been largely ignored. This neglected phase of the Vigilance movement of 1856 is the subject of the present study.¹

I. THE CAUSE

On May 14, 1856, editor James King closed the office of the San Francisco *Bulletin* at his usual five o'clock hour, and set out on foot for his home. He had gone only a few blocks, near Montgomery and Washington streets when he was suddenly confronted with the men-

¹ The most complete study of the Vigilance movement is H. H. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. II (San Francisco, 1887). Other detailed accounts may be found in J. S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1878), and Josiah Royce, *California, from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco* (Boston, 1886).

acing figure of James P. Casey, a minor politician and editor, whose earlier residence in Sing Sing had been cause for comment by the *Bulletin*. Throwing off his cloak, Casey revealed a cocked pistol, uttered a brief exclamation, and fired his ball into King's breast. The assassin looked momentarily at his fallen victim, picked up his cloak, and walked quietly to the station house to give himself up.

There was nothing very remarkable about another murder in San Francisco, for homicide was common in the California gold rush days. In 1855, at least 538 persons met violent deaths in California at the hands of other men. Of these, seven were legal executions and 47 were retaliatory actions taken by mobs. Ten were killed by officers in performance of their duties. All the rest, 472 deaths, must be classed as murder, or at best manslaughter.² There were more homicides in the sparsely settled California of 1855 than in the populous state of 1950. In San Francisco alone in the month of August, 1855, there were 165 arrests for crimes of violence and 60 for crimes against property—this in a city where law enforcement was notoriously corrupt, the police force woefully inadequate, and escape to the surrounding hills easy.

Nor was it particularly noteworthy that Casey should give himself up without even considering flight, for punishment was unlikely. The brilliant sophistries of E. D. Baker, later United States Senator from Oregon, had won a hung jury for gambler Charles Cora in a similar assassination case only a few months earlier, and there was every reason to suppose that Cora would ultimately go free. "Perjured jurors have acquitted

. . . criminals," complained the *California Chronicle*, "and judges have justified assaults with intent to kill, if not murder itself; and if by chance one is convicted, immediately the jury recommends him to mercy, and the Supreme Court grants him a new trial."³

What made the murder of James King unique was the eminence of the victim, and the fact that for a year preceding his death he had been belaboring sin in San Francisco. In issue after issue of the *Bulletin* he had linked the corruption of politicians with the presence of gamblers and prostitutes, demanded the apprehension and conviction of office holders with their hands in the public treasury, exposed fraud in elections, and berated the people of the city for their indifference to robbery in high places. No doubt there were many besides Casey who wished him dead. But to the people of San Francisco, the attack on King became a symbol. Even some who had regarded him as an unpleasant gadfly now elevated him to martyrdom. The Committee of Vigilance was formed not merely to avenge his death, but to carry out a moral reform in San Francisco in the spirit of King's crusading editorials.

II. THE LEADERSHIP

The first reaction to the attack on King, however, was hardly akin to the disciplined behavior of the members of the Committee of Vigilance after it was fully organized. The night of the murder milling crowds roamed the streets from the spot where King fell to the site of the jail where Casey had been taken. San Francisco saloons did a rushing business, and numerous impromptu orators, filled with righteous indignation and bad whiskey, attempted to organize lynching parties in Casey's

² Figures adapted from the "homicide calendar," published monthly by the *California Chronicle* (San Francisco) in format similar to summaries of traffic fatalities in modern newspapers.

³ *California Chronicle*, May 16, 1856.

honor. But nothing came of these drunken suggestions. Even a speech made by Thomas King, brother of the victim, failed to channel the passions of the disorganized and confused mob. To be sure, the crowd cheered as King denounced the sheriff and the police as allies of gamblers and thieves, but no one accepted his offer to lead an assault on the jail. Thomas King was not a man to whom others entrusted their lives.

Meanwhile, behind closed doors the Committee of Vigilance took shape. A quasi-military tribunal was formed with prominent San Francisco merchants at the head. William T. Coleman, a man known for vigorous and persuasive speech, but not given to loose talk, was chosen president.⁴ In a few days a disciplined organization was completed with thousands of armed men in military companies. Commanded by resolute leaders, Vigilante troops were capable of exerting superior force against city and county officials if necessary; yet they were against spontaneous mob action. Throughout the three months of Committee domination it was, of course, this threat of force that enabled the Committee to act as the supreme authority in San Francisco. Yet it was the power of public opinion in the city which prevented opponents of the Vigilantes, who called themselves the "Law and Order"⁵ forces, from organizing effective counter action.

⁴ Coleman had demonstrated his ability as a popular orator by single-handedly controlling the actions of a mob in the excitement leading to the organization of an earlier vigilance committee in 1851. Yet he distrusted public speaking and professional speakers, and demanded military obedience from Committee members as a condition of his assuming leadership. Professional lawyers were barred from Committee trials, and amateur counselors provided to defendants were allowed only to make brief summaries of the evidence without rhetorical elaboration.

⁵ Pro-Vigilance groups called them the "Law and Murder" faction.

In response to appeals by frightened politicians, Governor Neeley Johnson commissioned General William T. Sherman to build up the militia in opposition to the Committee, but the general who was to march to fame in Georgia eight years later quickly gave up the task as hopeless. "The entire community was on one side [the Vigilantes]," he wrote Thomas Ewing in Ohio several weeks before he resigned his commission.⁶ The leaders of the Committee of Vigilance obviously shared this opinion, and they acted swiftly to bring orderly though extralegal justice to the city. They would not be content merely to dispose of James King's murderer; they were determined to carry out sweeping reforms and to rip the city of its criminal elements.

The dynamic and self-effacing leadership furnished by William Coleman and his associates was sufficient to marshal overwhelming public support in the early days of the Vigilance movement. The Committee profited from its leaders' reputation for personal integrity. There were no disappointed politicians among them, and they promptly disclaimed any ambition for political office. They shunned public speaking and denied politicians and lawyers places of prominence in their organization.⁷ The Vigilantes asserted that their only ambition was to rid San Francisco of its criminal elements, and the public accepted this assurance at face value. Without such singleness of purpose, the Committee could scarcely have survived beyond the hanging of James Casey.

III. RALLYING PUBLIC OPINION

The denial of personal ambition was a source of strength for the immediate goals of the Committee, but it was an

⁶ Letter of May 21, 1856, published in *Century Magazine*, XXI (1898), 302.

⁷ See fn. 4.

element of weakness in terms of the permanence of the political reforms the Vigilantes sought. If they were not to run for office, or seek to persuade as well as coerce, in whose hands should political leadership rest? Certainly it would not be returned to such objects of the Committee's hatred as Judge Ned McGowan, the friend and confidant of James Casey. Rather the new leadership must rest with those respectable elements of the community (outside the Committee) which were prepared to exercise it through written and spoken persuasion.

Such men were not all of one mind. Some whose personal integrity was not in doubt deplored the operations of the Committee, believing lawless methods could never achieve good ends. Others, while they did not approve of all the Committee's actions, soon became convinced that the good the Vigilantes were achieving far outweighed the danger inherent in disciplined extralegal action. Civic leaders of these opposing groups sought to influence public opinion about the Committee through the press, the pulpit, and the public forum.

Of four leading newspapers of San Francisco, only one took an outspoken stand in opposition to the Committee of Vigilance. Against this journal, the *Herald*, the merchants of the city took quick retaliatory action. They withdrew their advertising, and in one day the offending champion of the Law and Order element was reduced to half its former size. The *Bulletin*, seeing the reformers as the upholders of the cause of its murdered editor, gave strong support to the Committee and launched venomous attacks upon the Law and Order group. *Alta California*, which received the bulk of the advertising withdrawn from the *Herald*, prudently supported the Vigilance leaders. The

Chronicle, whose editor had not been on good terms with King, nevertheless joined in the general approbation, although it had at first expressed the hope that punishment of Casey would be left to the authorities.⁸

With few exceptions the Protestant ministers also praised the Committee from their pulpits. To be sure, some pastors urged Christian moderation, but when it became evident that no wholesale or indiscriminate hangings were intended, the blessing of the churches was liberally bestowed upon the Vigilantes. The stereotype of James King as a martyr, symbolizing the forces of good, was established early, in the funeral sermon delivered by the Reverend E. S. Lacey at the Unitarian Church. "James King was murdered suddenly while protecting our rights," Lacey declared, "—the rights and safety of every family, and of every honest citizen—the sacredness of virtue and the peace of home." In contrast, Casey was one of a "gang of villains who infest and destroy the very vitals of society." He was a "vicious, gambling, idle, cursing man, . . . the common enemy of the people," and the residents of the city must take forceful action to protect themselves against the conspiracy of the assassin and his kind.⁹

King's pastor, the Reverend R. P. Cutler, vigorously supported the advocates of revolutionary action. "If you cannot reform abuses through the ballot-box, you *must* by the assumption of original power. . . . Men have taken up arms not . . . to subvert law, but to give

⁸ San Francisco in 1856 had at least fourteen other small newspapers, including three French and two German language journals. Most of these supported the Committee, although some wavered at the beginning. For a colorful, although highly biased, account of the editorial policies of San Francisco newspapers, see Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. II, pp. 78-83, 205-225.

⁹ *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 24, 1856.

it force and effect." If there were those who doubted the legality of the Committee's actions, "the necessity, the *absolute necessity* of the case, is the only justification pretended . . . —a justification that posterity will ratify, and the whole world, when rightly informed, will unquestionably sustain."¹⁰ The Reverend B. Brierly, of the Washington Street Baptist Church, was more inclined to warn the Vigilantes against excesses; yet he also offered them Divine sanction for illegal acts, whenever "interests higher than all legal forms, and a claim more imperative than your own existence, shall make the act a necessity."¹¹

In his installation sermon for a new pastor at the First Congregational Church, Dr. Horace Bushnell went beyond mere justification of the battle against a conspiracy of wicked men. While he approved the actions of the Committee, he also urged a constructive program. The distinguished New England preacher took as his text the tenth verse of the first chapter of Jeremiah: "See I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant." It was the Christian's duty, he declared, to support the forces seeking to root out evil, but the religious man must also seek to build enduring elements of righteousness in place of wickedness. Only on such a foundation could the work of the Vigilance Committee be firmly established.¹²

Not all clergymen were equally temperate. San Francisco's famous street preacher, the Reverend William Taylor, told his hearers the story of the killing of 450 false prophets of Baal by Elijah, and found in the furious vengeance of

Jehovah ample precedent for the milder actions of the Vigilance Committee. "The transgressor was punished; the corrupter of youth was forced to fly from our city, and the man of evil associations compelled to seek another abiding place." Taylor believed that "the hand of the Lord was in this thing," and good would come from it. "When the wicked bear rule, the people mourn; but righteousness and judgment are the habitations of God's throne." The harshness of the evangelist's Old Testament condemnation of San Francisco's malefactors was not tempered with mercy.¹³

Among Protestant clergymen, a notable exception to the supporters of the Committee was Dr. William Anderson Scott, pastor of Calvary Presbyterian Church. Although Scott had a strong hold on his congregation, he was afraid to express his anti-Vigilance opinions from his pulpit. He therefore published his beliefs in Philadelphia, declaring that he had been told "that I must pray for the Committee and preach in their behalf, and that if my sentiments against them were known I should lose my congregation." San Francisco papers, however, obtained a copy of his letter, and as a result of the publicity given to it, unknown persons hanged Scott in effigy outside his own church.¹⁴

There was some opposition to the Committee among the Catholic clergy, but California at this time was committed to the point of view of the anti-Catholic American party, which had just won the state elections, and the views of Catholics were given scant consideration. Indeed, there was a tendency among the supporters of the Committee to identify the "hoodlum elements" with James Casey's Irish Catholicism, and to

¹⁰ *Bulletin*, May 27, 1856.

¹¹ *Chronicle*, June 7, 1856.

¹² *Chronicle*, July 12, 1856.

¹³ *Chronicle*, July 5, 1856.

¹⁴ *Bulletin*, October 1, 1856.

marshall religious prejudice in direct support of the Vigilance movement.¹⁵

With both press and pulpit thus heavily weighted against them, the Law and Order leaders, in a final effort to gain popular strength, resorted to the public forum. Mass meetings invariably drew crowds in San Francisco, and the politicians and lawyers who headed the Law and Order faction were confident that they could win support by speeches in behalf of the anti-Vigilance cause. Perhaps the wit and charm of men like Colonel E. D. Baker, who had captivated audiences in southern Illinois as well as in San Francisco, could weaken the bulwark of public sentiment behind which the Vigilantes were operating unhampered. With this hope, Baker joined other Law and Order leaders in issuing a call for a mass meeting of opponents of the Committee of Vigilance. In turn, moderate men who supported the Vigilantes also took to the public platform.

IV. AUDIENCE ATTITUDES

The rhetorical champions of the opposing parties faced audiences with traits which were in part typical of any cross-section of Americans in mid-century, and in part the result of conditions peculiar to San Francisco in 1856. The problem of the speakers, like that of an advocate in any other controversy, was to discover and adapt to their own ends the dominant attitudes, prejudices, and desires of their hearers. It was the extent to which the opposing orators were able to achieve this purpose that was the measure of the success of one group and the failure of the other.

San Francisco in Vigilante days was a mushroom city, grown from a sleepy pueblo in 1848 to a busy metropolis of

50-60,000 in 1856.¹⁶ Although it was still essentially a frontier community with a fluid population, elements of stability had begun to appear. Eastern institutions, culture and political methods had been transplanted to western soil and were taking vigorous root. Well-established churches existed; public schools were operated in familiar patterns; considerable wealth had been amassed; and (in contrast with the men of the mines) San Franciscans were beginning to establish permanent homes and to bring up families. The men of the city were still rough and rowdy, but each year there were more among them who looked forward to the time when a stable, law-abiding community would be built on the shores of the Bay. To this fundamental desire for stability, the orators of both sides could appeal.

This desire for stability, however, was tempered by a vivid sense of the significance of the Revolutionary tradition. As in other frontier communities, the strenuous nature of life encouraged a rugged sense of independence. But the Revolution itself was not far removed from any American of the fifties. Only eighty years had elapsed since the first shots of the war had been fired. Many a man of thirty or forty years of age had known one or more Revolutionary veterans in his childhood, and had heard from his grandparents eyewitness accounts of the struggle for independence. Perhaps the sea captain of sixty in the audiences of Vigilante days had fought the British on Lake Erie in the War of 1812; if so, he had little difficulty in identifying himself with the heroes of the Revolution. Thus it was not surprising that the public statement of principles issued by

¹⁵ Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. II, p. 635. Bancroft himself accepted this view in writing about the Committee thirty years after the event.

¹⁶ There are no reliable figures on the population of San Francisco in 1856. The estimate is that of W. O. Ayres, "Personal Recollection of the Vigilance Committee," *Overland Monthly* Ser. 2, VIII (1886), 161.

the Committee of Vigilance was a virtual paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence, and the bitterest opponents of the Committee recognized in press and platform statements the existence of the "inherent right of Revolution," while denying that the occasion justified the exercise of that right.

Yet there were many Americans in the fifties who wished to prevent recent arrivals in the new world from enjoying the privileges won by the Revolution. In California this spirit had been manifested by the election as governor of Neeley Johnson, American party candidate, along with many state and local officials of the same political persuasion. While the members of this party were united on little except their anti-foreign and anti-Catholic "Americanism," and were unable to maintain sufficient unity to consolidate their power, the success of these preachers of provincialism did not go unnoticed by the orators of 1856. Californians resented the presence of foreigners, particularly Irish Catholics, exiled Englishmen from the Australian prison settlements, and foreign miners of any nationality.

But James King, both in life and in death, had given the men of San Francisco their most firmly established conviction. It seemed self evident that honest citizens had lost control of their government to gamblers, thieves, and their political allies. Crime had been made to pay. Cheating was encouraged in high quarters, and the ballot box was repeatedly stuffed in the interests of office holders, while honest voters were often intimidated into staying away from the polls.¹⁷ King's editorials had drummed these unpleasant facts into

the minds of San Francisco citizens, and Casey's bullet had fixed the impression. No speaker could succeed before a San Francisco audience in 1856 if he failed to shift from his cause the responsibility for these evil conditions.

The rival orators thus needed to address themselves to four fundamental attitudes of the typical San Franciscan: the desire for stability and order; the keen awareness of the Revolutionary tradition; the antagonism to alien elements in the community; and the conviction that evil interests were in control of the city government. In such a setting the first to attempt to motivate public opinion from the platform were the Law and Order leaders.

V. THE LAW AND ORDER MEETING

A notice in the *Herald* called a mass meeting of Law and Order supporters for the afternoon of Monday, June 2, and the Vigilance Committee promptly notified its members and friends to stay away from the Plaza while the meeting was in progress. Yet the orators of the day met with a hostile reception from the crowd. The speakers at times could scarcely make themselves heard above the uproar, and the president was so uncertain of the reception likely to be given to the official resolutions that he failed to call for the negative vote.

The principal speakers were Judge Alexander Campbell, and three prominent San Francisco lawyers: Calhoun Benham, C. H. Brosman, and Colonel E. D. Baker. Baker had been a close friend of Abraham Lincoln in Illinois, and would become senator from Oregon. He had a wide reputation for eloquence both as a forensic orator and as a popular lecturer. At the time of the Plaza meeting, however, his primary notoriety was derived from his recent defense of Charles Cora, murderer of Marshall

¹⁷ "When it was known how many votes were needed to give a suitable majority, the Twelfth Ward was always equal to the emergency and made the proper returns to elect its candidates." Ayres, "Recollections," p. 163.

Richardson, and one of the first two men hanged by the Vigilantes. Baker had been retained to defend the assassin for a reputed fee of \$10,000 by Belle Cora, mistress of the little gambler, and keeper of a notorious house of prostitution. Of the four speakers, only Campbell had the prestige of holding an elective office, but all of them were known for their ability to sway audiences.

In spite of his reputation, however, Judge Campbell was greeted by cries and yells against which he contended throughout his remarks. He reacted by declaring that the interference with his right of free speech made him one of a community of slaves, and that he had no way of knowing his own master. If there had been ballot box stuffing (A voice from the crowd yelled: "You were elected by it."), he personally knew that there were men in the Vigilance Committee contemptible enough to do it. Moreover, new laws and regulations had already been passed to do away with this evil. If good citizens had done their duty at the polls, the stuffers could not have been successful anyway. It was now the duty of these citizens to stand by the constituted authorities, to see that the state laws were enforced, and to aid in curbing unbridled mob license. At this point the applause of Campbell's supporters was drowned out by jeers and laughter when someone raised high on a pole a crude replica of the fraudulent ballot-box which had been confiscated by the Vigilance Committee during the arrest of a prominent politician.¹⁸

In spite of the reception given Judge Campbell, the other speakers persisted in attempting to address the crowd. Calhoun Benham, like Campbell, denied

that ballot box stuffing justified the "lawless" actions of the Committee. Pointing to the empty flagpole, he declared that he was thankful that the "proud standard of American Liberty was not floating over the city . . . where the Goddess of Liberty had fallen, and hit the dust of mobocratic violence." But reason would triumph over error. The Governor would soon declare the city in insurrection, and all good citizens would rally to the call of law. He hoped that the flag would soon wave over our recovered liberties; as the great Webster said, "when his eyes were turned for the last time toward the Sun in Heaven, he hoped to see the American ensign floating, not upon the broken and discordant fragments of a once glorious Union, but over every sea and every land, and not a single star erased or obscured." Benham was constantly interrupted; the *Chronicle* reported that when he referred to ballot box stuffing, "the cries redoubled, alternately changing from gay to serene, imitating occasionally the bleating of sheep and the groans made by a dying person." In the midst of one of his most impassioned pleas, reported the *Herald*, someone shouted, "Dry up, you old pudding-head!"

C. H. Brosman also spoke about the violated rights of citizens, supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws, and established by the sacrifice of the founding fathers. Taking as his theme the quotation, "It is sweet and glorious to die for one's country," he promised to support the Law and Order forces to the death. He charged that the leaders of the Vigilance movement were using the crisis to make political capital, and really sought offices for themselves. Brosman spoke more briefly than the others, and the crowd was more tolerant, reserving its most violent tumult for Baker.

¹⁸ The reports of these speeches are adapted from summaries and paraphrases in the *California Chronicle*, the *Bulletin*, and the *Herald* for June 3, 1856. The account in the anti-Vigilance *Herald* differed from the others only in emphasis.

When Colonel Baker first took the stand, he was greeted with such bedlam that he was unable to speak at all. For a long time he merely stood before the shouting crowd, giving the impression that the confusion did not disturb him. At intervals he shook his finger at some noisy demonstration, or looked up at the empty flagpole as though he were invoking the aid of the flag which was not there. Finally he took off his cravat and turned down his collar, pointedly ignoring the placard raised in the crowd bearing the legend, "Belle Cora—\$10,000." But Baker had a way with crowds, and retained his temper. He began to joke with the audience, which liked him better than his cause. He satirized the actions of the Committee: "This is the first specimen of the new Government. (Laughter and cheers). Here is free speech. The liberty of the people, the right of free speech and of the majority were never better manifested."¹⁹

The Colonel then declared that he knew the disturbers in the crowd, having defended half of them previously on criminal charges, and expecting to be called upon soon to defend the other half. The members of the Vigilance Committee were busily shearing the hog: there was great cry and little wool. Sooner or later the sober second thought of the people would reject these self-appointed rulers, and 10,000 outraged citizens would rally to the support of the cause of the law. Then, reverting to his jocular theme, the speaker declared that when the rule of law should return, he would forgive the disturbers and defend them for their crimes, half on the ground of insanity, and half on the ground that they had been misled.

The crowd obviously enjoyed Baker's speech but remained hostile to his cause. A futile attempt to raise the flag ended

in confusion and disorder. Not even the anti-Vigilance *Herald* could pronounce the meeting a success. Baker, after further vain attempts to organize anti-Vigilance forces, departed on a lecture tour, and did not return to San Francisco until late in the summer.²⁰

The Plaza meeting of June 2 presented a remarkable phenomenon. Men who only a few weeks before had been among the most respected members of the community, skillful speakers who could hold a San Francisco audience on any subject, were now hooted down by the crowd. The orators could and did appeal to two basic and commonly held attitudes: the Committee was accused of disrupting the peace and order of the city, and violating the sacred liberties won by the Revolutionary forebears. Yet in spite of these appeals, hecklers in the crowd persisted in bringing up unpleasant but commonly known facts about ballot box stuffing and official corruption, and efforts of the orators to charge the members of the Committee with responsibility for these misdeeds were met with ironic cheers and laughter. The dominant idea in the minds of the listeners had crowded out all receptiveness to other appeals.

"Legal gentlemen fumed and fretted in the shadow of the liberty pole, but all to no purpose," wrote Thomas King, who had succeeded his brother as editor of the *Bulletin*. "The stale catchwords of 'Constitution,' 'Trial by Jury,' 'Liberty,' & c., were deprived of the little effect they might have had by the display . . .

²⁰ "Col. E. D. Baker will lecture at the Methodist E. Church this evening, on some literary subject—nothing political or anything connected with the late trouble. The well-known eloquence of the speaker ought to crowd the house. The ladies are especially invited to be present. The Colonel has the reputation of being the most eloquent speaker in California and we are very anxious to hear him. Admission free." *Sierra Citizen*, quoted by *California Chronicle*, July 5, 1856.

¹⁹ *Chronicle*, June 3, 1856.

of a tin can marked 'ballot box,' . . . which . . . created much laughter." King's final derisive comment was not far from the truth: "The orators only succeeded in arousing their own enthusiasm."²¹

VI. PRO-VIGILANCE MASS MEETING

The anti-Vigilance speakers had had enough, and a promised second meeting was never held. Instead, the Law and Order faction increased its pressure on the governor, who finally yielded to their demands and issued a proclamation which declared the city and county of San Francisco in insurrection, and called upon all good citizens to join in companies of militia to combat the forces of the rebels. With this stimulus recruiting stations increased their activity, and both the Vigilantes and the Law and Order forces laid plans for an inevitable clash of arms.

Although the weight of numbers lay with the Committee, there were still many men who had not committed themselves to either party, but sought honorable means of ending the conflict. One group of prominent citizens, headed by J. B. Crockett, called on Governor Johnson and formally requested him to withdraw his proclamation while a formula for conciliation was worked out. Johnson treated this committee with singular discourtesy, and its leaders came away believing that armed conflict was inevitable. Among these was Balie Peyton, member of a commission appointed under recent legislation to safeguard the ballot-box. Peyton was convinced by the governor's attitude that it was essential to the city's welfare that the middle ground citizens who were still uncommitted should rally behind the Committee of Vigilance.

To achieve this end, Peyton and his

associates called a mass meeting of citizens for June 14 in front of the Oriental Hotel, specifically requesting the attendance of those not already identified with the Vigilantes.²² At the hour of the rally, the *Herald* acknowledged the presence of 3,000 persons, while the *Chronicle* estimated the crowd at 6,000 or more. All accounts agreed that the assembly, in contrast to the Plaza meeting, was orderly and enthusiastic. The anti-Vigilance *Herald* attributed this freedom from tumult to the gentlemanly character of the Law and Order adherents, who would not stoop to the rowdiness displayed by Vigilance supporters at the Plaza rally.

The chief speakers at the Oriental Hotel mass meeting were Peyton and William Duer, a prominent lawyer. Neither was a member of the Committee of Vigilance, nor were others who addressed the meeting briefly. All the speakers emphasized the same fundamental themes. Instead of avoiding the ballot box stuffing issue which had been the ruin of the Law and Order advocates, they brought it into sharp focus. What was the remedy, said Duer, when the people voted at one end of the ballot box by units, and Billy Mulligan and Liverpool Jack voted at the other end by hundreds? "Why," said Peyton, "you might as well put a common hand on a farm with an old-fashioned sickle, and let him try to compete with McCormick's reaper, as compare the old-fashioned ballot box with this patent machine we have had amongst us." The only remedy,

²² Two preliminary meetings had been held in local assembly halls. The anti-Vigilance *Herald* stigmatized the speeches at these rallies as "inflammatory harangues," but acknowledged that the applause was "long and vehement." The *Chronicle* reported the speeches in some detail, noting their pointed attacks on the governor and the Law and Order party. The announced purpose of the meetings was to afford a basis of peaceful settlement by strengthening the hand of the Vigilance Committee.

²¹ *Bulletin*, June 3, 1856.

said all the speakers, was the one adopted by our forefathers, the inherent right of revolution. The members of the Vigilance Committee were true men, patriots, who had rallied in defense of their liberties, and deserved to stand by the side of those immortal heroes who fought at Bunker Hill. Let the governor withdraw his proclamation, allow the Committee to finish the work of bringing order and stability to San Francisco, and all would be well.

But the climax of the rally came at the close of the speeches, when Peyton introduced the "Orator of the Occasion," the cleverly contrived ballot box with sliding panels and secret compartments, used by the stuffers a few months before to insure the election of James Casey to the Board of Supervisors. This eloquent mechanism, confiscated by officers of the Committee in the arrest of one of the ballot stuffers, was allowed to speak for itself, and as its operation was explained, there was hardly a listener who could doubt that he had been cheated by corrupt politicians.

Thus each speaker in turn blended the four fundamental audience attitudes outlined above: the Committee was declared to be the champion of stability and order; the Revolutionary tradition was constantly invoked; the ills of society were attributed to Irish and English ruffians; and, always at the focus, the rooting out of criminal elements and ballot box stuffers was demanded. Where the Law and Order champions failed because they were unable to bring these four elements into harmony, the Vigilance orators effectively united them into a coherent appeal that roused their audience into enthusiastic approval of the Committee.

One week after this mass meeting, Vigilant troops took truly revolutionary action, disarmed the state militia which

was preparing to move against them, and arrested Judge David Terry of the California Supreme Court on charges of assaulting an officer of the Committee. These actions were military in nature, and could not have been completed without preponderant power and brilliant leadership. Yet unless the officers of the Committee were prepared to seize and exercise unlimited dictatorial power, the success of these measures was also dependent upon public opinion. It was important to the Vigilance leaders to win the support not only of the militants who drilled with the Committee's troops, but also of thoughtful or timid independents who thus far had withheld their approval. To these middle ground citizens the orators of June 14 addressed their appeals. Motivating these wavering citizens was a direct contribution to building and maintaining favorable popular sentiment. Moreover, by dramatizing the essential features of the conflict, the Oriental Hotel rally served notice to critics outside the community that the great majority of San Francisco's citizens and leaders supported the actions of the Vigilantes.

The Committee of Vigilance finished its work on August 18, 1856, and formally adjourned, subject to the call of its officers. The executive group continued to meet at intervals, and assigned men to protect the polls on November 4 and at subsequent elections. As an organization, however, the Committee was prohibited by its constitution from taking any part in politics, and most of the leaders remained aloof from individual political activity. To fill this gap, moderate pro-Vigilance citizens held a mass meeting on August 11, and organized the People's Reform Party, which was to dominate the civic life of San Francisco for the next decade. Many of the leaders of the People's Party had also

sponsored the pro-Vigilance rally of June 14. Seven of eighteen vice-presidents of the June meeting were active in issuing the call for the new political organization. In addition, A. G. Randall was secretary and William Duer was a principal speaker at both mass meetings. F. A. Woodworth, one of the vice-presidents of the earlier rally, presented the resolutions at the People's Party meeting and played a leading role in the party's councils.²³ There can be little doubt that the pro-Vigilance mass meeting of June 14 was the prototype of later political rallies out of which grew the power and influence of the People's Party.

Without this new political force, the reforms initiated by the Vigilantes might well have been lost. "The power of the Vigilance Committee had swept away forever the most corrupt of those rings which had brought about the chronic evils which called that organization into being," wrote Clancey Dempster, one of the few men to be active in both the Committee and the People's Party. "The faithful and persevering efforts of the people's party restored to a grateful and rejoicing society all the welcome sanctions of law and order."²⁴ The new party's strength was to a large degree dependent on the assurance of honest elections provided by the Committee, and the principles of the reform group were those of the Vigilantes. But political reforms had not resulted from the rule of an earlier Committee of Vigilance in San Francisco in 1851, nor did the operations of similar committees in Sacramento and other California communities in 1856 bring any permanent political benefits to these cities. In each of these instances, the relaxation of the force exerted by the committees allowed

political power to return to the old hands whose misgovernment had created the conditions the Vigilantes sought to combat. In San Francisco in 1856, however, a movement founded on force was transformed by moderate leaders into one operating through the democratic processes of persuasion and discussion, and what might have been another transitory reform was given substance and permanence.

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The murder of James King on May 14, 1856, set in motion a contest for civic power which was to be decided in the last analysis by public opinion. Although the Committee of Vigilance established to avenge King's death possessed sufficient power to carry out its immediate aims, permanent relief from misgovernment could be achieved only by total revolution directed against all constituted authority in California, or by the creation of new political forces to direct reforms in the normal democratic channels of discussion and persuasion. The leaders of the Committee of Vigilance rejected the first alternative, and were unwilling or unable to assume political leadership themselves. The vacuum thus created was filled as a result of a contest in the press and on the platform between the Law and Order forces, advocating a return to government by the duly elected authorities, and the pro-Vigilante moderates, who supported the actions of the Committee and urged measures leading to permanent reform of the body politic.

In this contest the advocates of the respective factions had to rely on commonplaces characteristic of the thinking of citizens of San Francisco during the operation of the Committee of Vigilance: the desire for stability and order, the nearness of the Revolutionary tradi-

²³ *Bulletin*, June 14, August 12, 1856.

²⁴ Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. II, pp. 654-655.

tion, the anti-foreign and anti-Catholic stereotypes, and the conviction that corrupt and criminal interests had obtained control of San Francisco government.

These basic attitudes and desires rendered the conflict between the opposing factions grossly unequal. Leaders of the Law and Order group were compelled by the nature of events to appear to contradict "facts" in the possession of their hearers, and thus to seem uninformed, stupid, or even perverse and evil. Although the high personal prestige of some of the speakers won them a temporary hearing, it could not compel members of the audience to reject the experience of their own senses.²⁵ On the other hand, this same common sense knowledge rendered the audience at the pro-Vigilance rally particularly susceptible to the appeals of the orators, especially since their beliefs had been buttressed by the press and given Divine sanction by the pulpit. The California historian,

²⁵ Compare the disintegration of the Japanese propaganda line in the last days of World War II as the version of the facts broadcast from Tokyo became increasingly at variance with the actual facts known personally to people in the areas the Japanese propagandists were trying to influence. Charles W. Lomas, "The Rhetoric of Japanese War Propaganda," *QJS*, XXXV (1949), 30-35.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, scoffed at the band wagon tactics of Peyton and Duer, and argued that the actions of the Committee had already made their speeches "harmless, but very safe."²⁶ The purpose of the Oriental Hotel rally, however, was not to convince the hearers, but to stimulate them. Although the facts pointed to certain definite conclusions, it was still necessary to direct the unchanneled favorable sentiments of the crowd. This function was admirably served by the orators of June 14. By strong representation of commonplaces which were obvious to their listeners they did not change opinions, but they did convert sympathizers into active supporters of the cause of reform. Moreover, the pro-Vigilance leaders possessed the political knowledge and skill to energize the mood for change set in motion by the actions of the Committee, and to found a People's Party which perpetuated the reform movement by means of the normal democratic processes of persuasion and discussion.

²⁶ Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. II, pp. 339-340. Bancroft's criticism was, of course, the same in substance as that which has been leveled at oratory since the time when Plato held that the power of oratory was illusory and akin to the art of flattery.

TALAEUS VERSUS FARNABY ON STYLE

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IN studies on the rhetorical theories current in the English Renaissance, the Ramian rhetorics of Fenner, Fraunce, Butler, and Dugard are described as being primarily collections of tropes and figures based on Talaeus and representative of the Ramian view that rhetoric was restricted to considerations of style and delivery.¹ Talaeus' *Rhetorica*, widely used on the Continent, was published at least four times in Britain from 1577 to 1636; Fenner's *The Artes of Logike and Rethorike*, of which the "rethorike" is an abridged translation of Talaeus, appeared in 1584, 1588,² and again, under Thomas Hobbes' name,³ in 1681; Fraunce's *Arcadian*

Rhetorike, the second English translation of Talaeus, was published in London in 1588; Butler's Latin version was printed in England at least eleven times between 1597 and 1684; Dugard's Latin text appeared at least sixteen times between 1640 and 1741. The minimum total of known British editions of Talaeus, and of Talaeus as edited by Fenner, Fraunce, Butler, and Dugard, is thirty-five from 1577 to 1741.

The same studies point to the *Index rhetoricus* of Thomas Farnaby as being representative of the seventeenth century "reversion to classicism" that grew out of a steadily increasing importation and publication of classical texts, the growing strength of the classical spirit in the universities, and the protests and criticisms of scholars in the opposing camp. A concise summation of the classical concept of a rhetoric consisting of invention, disposition, style, and delivery, the *Index* appeared in at least eleven editions from 1625 to 1704.⁴

This paper aims to show that the Ramian forces represented by the Talaeian rhetorics (1) not only strictly limited the classical influence of the *Index rhetoricus* on later British rhetoricians, but that these forces (2) were also so thoroughly successful in divesting the *Index* of its classicism, that it even-

¹ See such standard works as: Charles Sears Baldwin; *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (New York, 1939); Thomas Whitfield Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (2 vols., Urbana, Ill., 1944); Donald Lemen Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (New York, 1922) and *John Milton at St. Paul's School* (New York, 1948); W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (New York, 1937); William P. Sandford, *English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828* (Columbus, Ohio, 1931); Karl R. Wallace, *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric* (Chapel Hill, 1943); and Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge, 1908).

² The 1554 and 1558 editions of Fenner were actually printed at Middelburg, Holland, but they are here considered among English editions as they were published primarily for sale in England.

³ Wilbur Samuel Howell, "Ramus and English Rhetoric: 1574-1681," *QJS*, XXXVII (1951), 309. This article, covering Ramian texts in both dialectic and rhetoric, also calls attention to later treatment of Fenner's work as one of the authentic English writings of Hobbes in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury*, ed. W. Molesworth (London, 1839-45), VI, 511-536. See also W. J. Ong, "Hobbes and Talon's Ramist Rhetorick in English," translation of Cambridge Bibliographical Society I, Part III (1951), 260-269. For earlier Ramian developments on the Continent, see Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 1 ff.

⁴ In addition, the Folger Shakespeare Library has a copy for which the estimated date is 1630 and the British Museum has one thought to have been printed in 1634. An edition of 1713 is cited in the bibliography (p. 406) of W. F. Mitchell's *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson* (London, 1932); Perry G. Miller lists a 15th edition of 1767 on p. 313 of *The New England Mind* (New York, 1939); in this edition is almost certainly a Stephen's edition described in Part II of this paper.

tually became as influential a rhetoric of tropes and schemes as all of the British editions of the Talaean rhetorics combined.

First, let us see how limited are the traces of the classicism of the *Index rhetoricus* in later writers of rhetorics.

As early as 1641, Farnaby is listed by Thomas Horne as one of those on whom he was dependent in the writing of his *χειρὰγωγή* (London, 1641 and 1687). An elementary handbook aimed at the development of good Latin style through imitation, this book consists largely of a series of explanations, rules, and examples taken from the classics and from contemporaries of the author, especially Vossius, Butler, Vicars,⁵ Farnaby, and Clarke.

The most apparent influence from Farnaby is the inclusion of a long list of *formulae oratoriae* for which the acknowledged sources are John Clarke's work by that name (4th edition, London, 1632) and the *formulae* added to the 1633 edition of the *Index rhetoricus*. Elsewhere in the volume, Horne continues to mention his dependence on Farnaby and others. On page 28 (edition of 1687), he refers to Aristotle, Vossius, Farnaby, Butler, and Vicars as expert writers on figures. In discussing the selection of good models for oratorical style, Horne cites the *Index rhetoricus* by title and he describes (page 57) Farnaby as a man well versed in every kind of learning and well qualified to give advice. Finally, speaking of the processes of analysis and comparison, Horne advises the reader to consult other sources, among them the *Index rhetoricus* of "that illustrious Farnaby" (page 147).

William Walker's familiarity with

⁵ Thomas Vicars' *Manuductio ad artem rhetoricam*, an elementary manual in catechetical style, was published three times (1619, 1621, 1628).

Farnaby is also evident in the volume of tropes and schemes which he published under the title, *Troposchematologiae rhetoricae libri duo* (London, 1668, 1672, 1683). Using Latin only, Walker groups figures of ideas under purpose headings similar to those in Keckermann and Farnaby: *ad probationem*, *ad explicationem*, *ad exaggerationem*, *ad affectuum concitationem*, *ad orationis dispositionem*. Otherwise, the work includes many more figures than the *Index*, and the organization differs enough from Farnaby, so that it is difficult to assess the extent of Walker's dependency.

Walker also lists Farnaby among those to whom he is indebted in his writing of the *De argumentorum inventione* (London, 1672), written as a companion volume to his work on tropes and schemes. In the preface to this treatise on rhetorical invention, Walker says that he is influenced by all who wrote on logic or oratory: "Aristoteles, Cicero, Quintilianus, . . . Vossius, Farnabius, Butlerus, aliisque. . ." This gesture of acknowledgment is similar to Farnaby's list of sources in the introduction to his work. Other than the author's statement of indebtedness, no particular passage in the book can be pointed out as having been derived from Farnaby and from no one else.

If other writers show appreciable traces of the *Index rhetoricus*, they have so far escaped my notice. The only obvious and direct influences of the work seem to be largely restricted to Horne and Walker; the former credits the *Index* with help in his work on style and the latter does the same in his text on invention. Walker also seems to rely heavily on the *Index* for his treatment of tropes and schemes.

To demonstrate that the *Index rhetoricus* was so denuded of its classicism by

Ramian forces that it exerted as great a Ramian influence as all of the British editions of Talaean rhetorics, let us now enumerate the editions of the *Index* as a rhetoric of tropes and schemes. We have already seen that the minimum total of such Talaean rhetorics is thirty-five; against these, we shall now marshal the forty separate editions of the tropes and schemes of the *Index*.

Since, from this point, we shall be dealing exclusively with Farnaby's tropes and schemes, an outline of his approach to them is in order. He follows the classical convention in the standard division of ornament into (a) tropes which change the meaning of a word from its common significance to some other and into (b) schemes, or figures, which give polish to words through variety in arrangement and to ideas which are strengthened in force or emotion. There

of ideas: the grouping of such figures under headings representing the purposes for which they were especially suited. Figures of ideas had been designed from the very first to achieve certain objectives and nowhere is this more strikingly obvious than in the *De copia* (Basle [1521]) of Erasmus in which he quotes from writers of every age to show *how to use* tropes and schemes. One of the first to go a step further in organizing a series of definitions and examples under *purpose headings* was Bartholomaeus Keckermann in his *Systema rhetoricae* (Danzig, 1608). That Farnaby temporarily deserts Vossius and other sources in favor of Keckermann's utilitarian choice of purpose headings is readily seen in the columns below.

Among the grammar school rhetorics published in England in the seventeenth century, the *Index rhetoricus* was, as far

Keckermann (1608)

De figuris sententiae pertinentibus and explicationem	(ii. 12)
...ad probationem	(ii. 13)
...ad amplificationem, et exaggerationem, simulque ad dispositionem	(ii. 14)
...ad expressionem affectuum	(ii. 15)

Farnaby (1625)

Schemata sententiae ad Explicationem	(p. 23)
Ad Probationem	(p. 24)
Ad Exaggerationem & Amplificationem	(p. 24)
Ad affectuum concitationem	(p. 24)
Ad copiam?	(p. 25)

is little attempt at originality; Vossius had published his *Rhetorices contractae*⁶ at Leyden in 1621 and, using this work as a primary guide, Farnaby rewrote the volume in shorter form, introduced materials from, and references to, other classical, medieval, and contemporary works, and added a few ideas of his own. There is, however, one distinguishing feature of Farnaby's treatment of schemes

as I have been able to discover, the first text of either the classical or Ramian groups to have the figures of ideas classified under the heads above. This useful feature may to some extent explain the early popularity of the book itself and of its abridged editions under other titles.

As long as Farnaby lived, successive editions of the *Index rhetoricus* appeared in complete form, but a Ramian subversion of his text was published in the year following his death. In 1648,

⁶ This work was a "contracted" version of Vossius' earlier *Commentariorum rhetoricorum . . . libri vi* (Leyden, 1605). For a study of Farnaby's dependence on Vossius and on other writers, see the present writer's unpublished dissertation, "The *Index rhetoricus* of Thomas Farnaby" (University of Michigan, 1950).

⁷ Farnaby's *Ad copiam* (for variety) is a catch-all classification; Keckermann continues with specific headings.

that part of the work which dealt with figures of speech (pages 20-28, first edition of 1625) was edited by Thomas Stephens and printed in London under the title, *Troposchematologia: maximam partem ex indice rhetorica Farnabii deprompta: additis insuper anglicanis exemplis*. The British Museum has editions of 1660, 1683, 1689, 1724, and 1767 (15th edition). A sixth Dublin edition of 1753 was published after the twelfth London edition of 1724; the Dublin copy (University of Chicago Library) is clearly one of a separate series.

The *Troposchematologia* is a Latin-English treatise based almost entirely on Farnaby, as its title indicates. The basic organization of this little volume of twenty-eight pages is the same as that for the tropes and schemes of Farnaby. However, the Latin definitions and examples are now paired with English equivalents. There is no attempt at close translation; the emphasis is on imitating Farnaby's verse forms in the English idiom, e.g.:

An Allegory does continue Tropes.
I've past the Shouls, now fair Gails spread my
Hopes.

Onomatopoeia coins a word from's Sound.
The Flies do buzze; Tantarra's fill the round.
Asteismus is a witty jest. Who knew it?
This Woman's old, yet ne'er a tooth to shew it.
Apocope for haste the end doth spill.
So Thomas we call Tom, and William Will.

The headings for the classifications of figures undergo minor changes in form but not in meaning. Those schemes of ideas which in Farnaby are directed toward exaggeration and amplification appear simply as schemes of amplification. In Farnaby, grammatical schemes of syntax come after grammatical schemes of metre; these positions are reversed in Stephens. In Farnaby, syntactical schemes of redundancy come after those of deficiency; these positions

are again reversed in the second work. The groups remain intact in spite of shifts in their relative positions.

It is apparent from the foregoing review that the *Troposchematologia* of Stephens, as he himself acknowledges in the title of the work, is an edition of the tropes and schemes of the *Index rhetoricus* with the addition of English examples as the only new feature.

The *Index* makes its next appearance in John Smith's *The Mysterie of Rhetorique Unvail'd* (London, 1657). The British Museum has editions of 1657, 1665, 1673, 1688, and a 1739 abridgment.

The only "mysterie" about Smith's effort is the effrontery of his title, although he does give Farnaby credit (in marginal notations) for his Latin definitions. After nine pages of elaboration on tropes and schemes in general, Smith launches into the body of the work, a listing of specific tropes and schemes with appropriate examples. He discusses each one according to a four-point plan: English definition, Latin definition and examples, English examples from literature, and English examples from the Scriptures. The Latin definitions and examples are taken verbatim from Farnaby. In Smith, the major divisions of the work are simply (1) tropes, (2) figures of words, and (3) figures of ideas, but the plan of the book is, nevertheless, Farnaby's. Smith begins with the trope of metaphor on page 10 of his text and, from this point on, he takes up all of the tropes and figures in Farnaby in the exact order in which they occur in the *Index rhetoricus*. On page 201, Smith deals with hystorologia, the last grammatical scheme in Farnaby; from this page to the end of the book, Smith adds thirty-seven miscellaneous figures, among them forms of proof such as syllogismus, enthymema, dilemma, and hypothesis.

The addition of an alphabetical index at the beginning of the work and the additional thirty-seven figures at the end of it are the only major features differing from the treatment of tropes and schemes in the *Index*. The English examples, though not translations of Farnaby, constitute a logical expansion to meet the demands of the times. It is evident that Smith used Farnaby's text for the basic plan and much of the content of his book.

In John Sterling's (also spelled Stirling) *System of Rhetorick*, there is again more of Farnaby than there is of the "author." The following editions are listed by the British Museum: 3rd London edition of 1740 and other London editions of 1882, 1827, and 1833; 4th Dublin edition of 1744 and other Dublin editions of 1786 and 1806, and an abridgment of 1864. The Library of Congress has a Dublin edition of 1788. The work was published at least fourteen times.

The first twelve pages of this small volume (Dublin edition of 1788) are devoted to English definitions and examples of schemes and tropes. The remaining nine pages contain equivalent Latin definitions and examples. This rhetoric is a shorter version of Stephens, the difference from the *Troposchematologia* lying mainly in the separation of the English and Latin forms into two groups. Sterling uses the same order for the various groups as in Stephens, but he reverts to the original headings in the *Index rhetoricus* of Farnaby. For instance, Farnaby's *Ad Probationem* (for proof) became *Probatio conficitur* in Stephens; it now appears in Sterling as *Figurae ad probationem*. Sterling acknowledges his dependency on Farnaby in the preface to his rhetoric with the phrase, "the Latin Definitions being mostly Farnaby's."

Thus, we have followed the tropes and schemes of Farnaby from the original *Index rhetoricus* of 1625 through a total of forty separate editions in the three versions of Stephens, Smith, and Sterling.

In summary, then, insofar as conclusions on influences can be drawn from a study of texts and numbers of editions, we find that the Ramian forces of the Renaissance were apparently strong enough in the British Isles to limit the classical influence of the *Index rhetoricus* to Walker's acknowledgment of some dependence on the *Index* in the *De argumentorum inventione*. Both Walker and Horne show a more easily discerned reliance on Farnaby in their works on style.

We find, secondly, that these same Ramian forces succeeded in transforming the classical *Index* into a rhetoric of tropes and schemes which exerted an influence as great, conservatively speaking, as that of its Talaeian rivals. The forty known British editions (1648-1864) of the tropes and schemes of Thomas Farnaby's work, as edited by Stephens, Smith, and Sterling, have been shown to exceed in number the thirty-five known British editions (1577-1741) of Talaeus in the original and as edited by Fenner, Fraunce, Butler, and Dugard. Admitting the existence of unknown editions on both sides of the ledger, the figures cited certainly support the conclusion stated at the beginning of this paragraph.

It is, indeed, an ironic twist of fortune that Thomas Farnaby's very popular and classical *Index rhetoricus*, almost completely stripped of its classicism by later independent writers and editors, became as exclusively Ramian a rhetoric of tropes and schemes as all of the Talaeian rhetorics against which it was initially arrayed.

AN ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM OF THE 1940 CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF WENDELL L. WILLKIE*

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IN the presidential campaign of 1940, a newcomer to politics, Wendell L. Willkie, was pitted against a veteran campaigner, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Although Willkie lost the election, he received more popular votes than any other candidate who had previously sought the presidency on the Republican ticket. This report is concerned with Willkie's speaking during that campaign; an attempt has been made to evaluate the factors that contributed to the election result, and to arrive at an estimate of Willkie's effectiveness as a public speaker.

The historical-rhetorical method was employed. Primary source materials were obtained from members of Willkie's family, his boyhood friends and employers, his teachers and classmates in high school and college, his business and professional associates, delegates to the 1940 Republican Convention, persons who heard him speak during the campaign, and from Willkie's speeches. The major Democratic and Republican campaign speeches were examined in detail.

Secondary sources included biographies, theses, periodicals, government and historical documents, genealogies, campaign brochures, history and economics textbooks, Republican and Democratic party records, Willkie writings, newspapers, and other journals. From this material a picture was drawn of Willkie's background and of the

factors that played an important part in his development as a public speaker.

Willkie's campaign speeches were studied and evaluated in terms of delivery, invention, arrangement, style and audience adaptation. From all these data an attempt was made to formulate a judgment concerning Willkie's 1950 campaign speaking.

I. THE SPEAKER

Willkie the speaker can be more readily understood in terms of his background and career. He was born in a small midwestern town, Elwood, Indiana, on February 18, 1892. Both his parents were school teachers and lawyers. The father, an able courtroom lawyer, insisted that young Willkie learn two things: first, to formulate his own ideas; second, to defend his ideas with argumentation and evidence. Much of this training took place at the dinner table where argument was as common as food.¹

Willkie attended high school at Elwood, and completed his college training at Indiana University, but took no course work in public speaking at either institution. He did debate in both high school and college. In college he also gained much speech experience as a leader of independent students.

Upon graduation, Willkie taught school for a short time at Coffeyville, Kansas, and then returned to Indiana to complete his legal training. After he

*Based upon Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1952, directed by P. E. Lull.

¹Letter to the author from Robert Trish Willkie, Willkie's older brother.

had received an LL.B. degree and served in the Armed Forces during World War I, he joined the legal department of the Firestone Rubber Company in Akron, Ohio. Because he disliked the routine details to which he was assigned, he resigned and became a counsel for the Ohio Edison Company where he won a reputation as an able lawyer; after ten years he moved to New York, to become counsel for the Commonwealth and Southern Company. Four years later, in 1933, Willkie became president of that firm, just in time to become involved in a controversy with Franklin Roosevelt over the Tennessee Valley Authority.² Because the company owned properties in the area where the T.V.A. was to be established, Willkie defended his company's interests by contending that the T.V.A. was competing unfairly with private industry.³ Willkie lost the legal struggle, but emerged with a national reputation as the spokesman for private enterprise.

This newly won recognition was one of the major factors that motivated the 1940 Republican Convention to select Willkie as its candidate for the presidency.⁴ Taft and Dewey were the favorite candidates, yet Willkie won the nomination on the fifth ballot. The evidence indicates that his selection was primarily due to four factors: (1) The Taft and Dewey forces were locked in a bitter struggle which permitted Willkie to win votes from both, after it became apparent that neither Dewey nor Taft could win. (2) Willkie mingled with

the delegates and won the support of many of them through his friendly, personable, forthright attitude. (3) Willkie received much support from the businessmen of America. (4) International events were casting an ominous shadow upon American shores and consequently many delegates did not wish to nominate a candidate who was known to be an isolationist.⁵

After winning the nomination, Willkie demonstrated that he was really an amateur politician. He addressed the delegates saying to them, "You Republicans will win the election;" he could have said, "We Republicans."⁶ His second political blunder was announcing that he would discard the Republican National Committee. Upon hearing this, Professor Raymond Moley, one of Willkie's advisors, registered serious objections and finally convinced Willkie to retain the group.⁷ He could not, however, change Willkie's unfriendly attitude toward the Republican party administration. Willkie did not understand politics, especially party organization; in fact, he mistrusted party "bosses."⁸ It has been said that Willkie had only one thing in common with a Republican politician and that was a desire to become a college president.

II. THE CAMPAIGN

Because Willkie felt that his nomination was due to "a movement of the people," he embarked upon a campaign that took him to the voters. During the

² Wendell L. Willkie, *This Is Wendell Willkie* (New York, 1944), p. 2.

³ J. Bonbright and J. Means, *The Holding Company* (New York, 1915), p. 94; also see *The T.V.A.—Its Work And Accomplishments* (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940), chap. I; *Hearings Before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Tennessee Valley Authority—Seventy-fifth Congress* (November 23-29, 1940), part 10, p. 4225.

⁴ Herman O. Makey, *Wendell Willkie of Elwood* (Elwood, Ind., 1940), p. 247.

⁵ The writer either interviewed or received letters from twenty-seven persons who were delegates to the Republican Convention of 1940. Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins—an Intimate Story* (New York, 1948), p. 173; also see Edward J. Flynn, *You're the Boss* (New York, 1947), p. 168; Raymond Moley, *Twenty-seven Masters of Politics* (New York, 1949), p. 46.

⁶ *New York Times*, June 26, 1940.

⁷ Moley, p. 49; Flynn, p. 168.

⁸ Mary E. Dillon, *Wendell Willkie* (New York, 1952), p. 198; Sherwood, p. 175.

contest he traveled 30,000 miles in 34 states and delivered approximately 550 speeches.⁹ Willkie began his campaign at Elwood, Indiana, on August 17, presenting his views on national and international problems. He argued that a third term for Roosevelt would result in a dictatorship being established in America, that Roosevelt had been unfriendly to private industry, and that the Democratic administration was characterized by waste and extravagance. He expressed agreement with New Deal social security and labor legislation.¹⁰ Willkie attempted to present his ideas on international topics, without offending the isolationists by announcing that he favored the Roosevelt foreign policy in principle but that he opposed the administration of it. Following the Elwood speech, Roosevelt asked Willkie if he favored the idea of loaning fifty over-age destroyers to Great Britain. Willkie agreed and stated that he would not make an issue of the matter.¹¹ This incident was not made public, but it tended to establish the fact that the two candidates were somewhat in agreement on foreign policy.

Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, was an experienced and astute politician. He announced upon being nominated that he did not plan to engage in a "political campaign"; but he added that he would campaign if it became necessary to do so in order to reply to "Republican falsehoods." This meant that Willkie was forced to conduct a one-sided campaign until the last two weeks of the contest, when Roosevelt apparently detected falsehoods in the air and decided to campaign actively. On October 23 Roosevelt began a series of five speeches which were his

only major ones of the campaign. He had given many short speeches at defense plants, but he contended that they were strictly "non-political."

Roosevelt employed much emotional proof in replying to Willkie's charges. He argued that he was more interested in the welfare of the American people than he was in a sound fiscal policy. He contended that his administration had been friendly to business and added humorously that if the Republicans were the friends of business, then business should indeed be saved from its friends.¹²

In mid-October the Republican high command convinced Willkie that if he did not actively attack the Roosevelt foreign policy he would be defeated, so Willkie began telling his listeners that Roosevelt would lead America to war.¹³ He argued further that America was totally unprepared for war because Roosevelt had been "playing politics" with the defense program. Roosevelt replied that Republican Congressmen had voted against the defense program. He promised his listeners that he sought peace and only peace, and that he certainly did not plan to establish a dictatorship in America. In the final analysis, at least as far as many voters were concerned, Willkie's position did not differ much from Roosevelt's, and so the major issue was, which of the two candidates would do a better job in carrying out the same program.¹⁴

III. THE AUDIENCE

The composition of Willkie's support shifted during the campaign. In the

¹² *New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1940. This issue of the *Times* includes the text of Roosevelt's Philadelphia speech.

¹³ *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1940; Sherwood, p. 187.

¹⁴ R. H. Penniman, *American Parties and Elections* (London, 1948), p. 239; also see T. W. Cousins, *Politics and Political Organizations* (New York, 1942), p. 281; Moley, p. 52.

⁹ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1940.

¹⁰ *Elwood Call Bugle*, Aug. 18, 1940.

¹¹ Sherwood, p. 175.

early part of the contest, his listeners were made up of anti-New Dealers, Willkie Club members who saw the Republican nominee as a new leader of the people, isolationists who hoped that Willkie would support their cause, and regular Republicans who had recently undergone an eight year famine and envisioned a period of political prosperity on the horizon. Willkie seemed to have much popular support when he began his campaign, for almost 250,000 persons converged upon the small city of Elwood on August 17 to hear him deliver his acceptance speech.¹⁵ He received similar enthusiastic support from large crowds during other early campaign speeches in Kansas, California, Washington, and Illinois. In fact, the Gallup Poll indicated that if the election had been held August 4, 1940, Willkie would have received 49% of the total vote.¹⁶ His percentage decreased to 44 by October 6, however.

There were at least two factors which accounted for this loss of popularity. First, there was dissatisfaction with Willkie's policies when it became known where he stood on major issues.¹⁷ For example, when the isolationists realized that Willkie favored selective service and international co-operation, they were disappointed; as the conservatives discovered that Willkie, the big businessman, was in favor of much of the New Deal program, they were dissatisfied; when the Republicans found that Willkie had been a Democrat until 1935 and that his political philosophy was somewhat similar to that of Roosevelt, they also were deeply concerned about their

candidate. Another reason for the decline in Willkie's popular support was the fact that he did not concentrate on the problems of war and defense. The war in Europe became of much interest to Americans after the collapse of France in June and especially in September when the Nazis began to bomb the civilian population in England and Scotland.¹⁸ It was not until October that Willkie concentrated on the international problems. This attack was apparently successful, for Willkie's popularity began to rise in mid-October and continued to climb until the election: according to a Gallup Poll of October 18, 1940, 53 per cent of the voters would have favored Willkie, if there had been no war in Europe.¹⁹ William Lydgate, editor of the American Institute of Public Opinion, supported that belief: "The weight of evidence indicates that if there had been no European war, Roosevelt would never have been re-elected in 1940."²⁰ At any rate, Willkie lost popular support first when his position on the major issues became known to the voters, and later, when he neglected international issues.

In spite of these limitations the Republican candidate drew large and generally enthusiastic crowds to hear his speeches and he received 22,000,000 votes at the polls in November.

IV. INVENTION

In evaluating Willkie's ideas, one should remember that he was a businessman who had presided over one of America's largest corporations. In 1940 he was a Republican, but he had been a Democrat most of his life, even voting for Roosevelt in 1932.²¹ Furthermore,

¹⁵ Republican leaders estimated that 250,000 persons were present to hear the speech while Democrats felt that the figure was nearer to 200,000. See *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1940.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1940.

¹⁷ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1940. This statement is partially based on conferences which the writer had with businessmen and Republican party leaders who knew Willkie.

¹⁸ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1940, Gallup Poll Report.

¹⁹ *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1940.

²⁰ William Lydgate, *What Our People Think* (New York, 1944), p. 98.

²¹ Makey, p. 247.

Willkie was an independent thinker. He accepted that part of the New Deal program which appealed to him as a liberal businessman and rejected the rest. Essentially, Willkie felt that business and labor would both prosper if they worked together. He believed in social security, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and the right of labor to bargain collectively. On the other hand, he definitely felt that Roosevelt was wasting money on "political relief projects." Willkie argued that the unemployed wanted full-time jobs in private industry, not relief. He felt that if Roosevelt had encouraged private industry, there would have been plenty of full-time jobs for the unemployed. Essentially, Willkie believed that "we must work together and produce in order to survive."²²

The originality of Willkie's ideas becomes apparent upon examining his method of speech preparation. He wrote his speeches out in longhand before receiving suggestions from his speech advisors, Bell and Davenport. After hearing their suggestions, Willkie would often rewrite his speech three or four times before he was satisfied with it. During the rush of the campaign, he at times found it necessary to dictate ideas to his speech writers, who then wrote a speech for the particular occasion at hand.²³

The ideas expressed by Willkie during the campaign of 1940 can be represented syllogistically. He argued deductively in this way:

²² For a statement of Willkie's beliefs see the Elwood acceptance speech, *New York Times*, Aug. 17, 1940, or the Seattle, Washington, speech, *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1940.

²³ The writer received personal letters from and conversed with Willkie's advisors and campaign assistants, among whom the most helpful were John Cowles, President of the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* and Lem Jones, Willkie's press secretary during the campaign. Phillip Willkie, his son, assisted in locating needed information.

Whatever is harmful to American democracy is undesirable.

The Roosevelt program is harmful to American democracy.

Therefore, the Roosevelt program is undesirable.

In proving that Roosevelt's policies were harmful to American democracy, Willkie introduced his first contention that a third term for Roosevelt would result in the establishment of a dictatorship in America. To support his point Willkie relied on induction as he introduced evidence to prove that Roosevelt favored a "one man" government. He pointed to the President's firm control over the Securities Exchange Commission, the National Labor Relations Board and the Federal Trade Commission. He cited Roosevelt's attempt to "pack" the Supreme Court as an example of "dictatorial methods." He developed his argument further with emotional proof by arousing fear of a dictatorship. He said, "I warn you and I say this in dead earnest, if . . . you return this administration to office, you will be serving under an American totalitarian government before the long third term is finished."²⁴

Although Willkie was not a student of the classics, he seemed to have been aware of the techniques of ethical proof. He portrayed himself as a man of good sense, character and good will, the defender of our form of government. He described his opponent as the destroyer of American democracy, the politician who received support from the corrupt city bosses and their machines.

Throughout the campaign Willkie attempted to make the third term an important issue, but he was outmaneuvered by Roosevelt, who refused to debate the matter until his last major campaign speech, when he replied as follows: "There is a great storm raging now. . . . I would like to stick by those

²⁴ *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1940.

people of ours until we reach the clear, sure footing ahead.²⁵ Further refutation was quickly offered by Democratic Congressmen who argued that Roosevelt was being called upon to serve his country; however, James Farley maintained that the supposedly popular draft was in fact being engineered by the White House.²⁶

In two respects Willkie acted wisely when he chose to debate the third term issue. First, the Republican Party platform contained a plank opposing a third term. He thus indicated that he respected the platform. Second, the third term topic was one on which he could take a stand and please both conservatives and liberals within Republican ranks. Furthermore, it was the only important campaign issue on which he and Roosevelt completely disagreed. Even though Willkie introduced much evidence to cast doubt upon Roosevelt's intentions and much emotional proof to arouse fear of a dictatorship, it is uncertain that he won many votes on this point, for public interest seemed to be shifting from domestic issues to international events. In August of 1939 only 40 per cent of the nation's voters favored Roosevelt for a third term, whereas in May of 1940, after Hitler had overrun France, 57 per cent approved.²⁷ This increasing interest in foreign affairs was working against the Republican candidate, who was trying to focus attention on domestic topics, where he was in agreement with the Republican platform.

Early in the campaign Willkie introduced his second main contention calculated to prove that Roosevelt's policies were undesirable. He argued that the Democratic candidate was unfriendly to private industry. Willkie introduced am-

ple evidence in terms of examples, facts, statistics, comparisons and illustrations to prove this argument. In the speaker's words:

Between 1900 and 1929 the number of business enterprises per thousand increased about seventeen percent . . . today we have fewer business enterprises per thousand of population than we had in 1929. Measured by the standards of our previous growth we are short about 700,000 enterprises, that is, we are short about 700,000 employers. Now days it is about as hard to start a new business as it is to rob a bank and the risks of going to jail are about as great in both cases.²⁸

Willkie compiled numerous statistics to show that the New Deal tax structure was unsound. He employed causal relationship to prove that the Roosevelt policy toward business was prolonging the depression. Willkie presented a preponderance of evidence, yet he seemed to be talking to a committee of fellow businessmen, not to a group of prospective voters who had come to hear what Willkie was going to do for the individual. In short, Willkie did not clearly explain to the average listener how Roosevelt's attitude toward private industry affected him adversely. In one Cincinnati speech, however, he did the exceptional thing by drawing a vivid picture of unemployed workers standing before factory gates which were closed because of the New Deal attitude toward business.²⁹ It was while debating this issue that the Republican candidate revealed his belief in social security, collective bargaining, and other New Deal legislation. The announcement alienated the support of conservatives who hoped that Willkie would take a firm stand against the New Deal. Willkie was apparently not effective in debating the two domestic issues pertaining to the third term and governmental regulation of business, for by October

²⁵ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1940.

²⁶ James A. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story* (New York, 1948), p. 260.

²⁷ Lydgate, p. 99.

²⁸ *New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1940.

²⁹ *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1940.

6 his popularity had reached a low point.³⁰

There were two reasons however why Willkie did not actively debate the national defense and the war issues before October. First, he personally supported much of Roosevelt's foreign policy and he knew that an expression of his ideas would offend the isolationists. Secondly, he knew that Republican Congressmen had recently opposed large expenditures for defense measures.³¹ Perhaps Willkie did not realize that the voters' interests were rapidly shifting toward foreign policy, especially after the Nazis bombed the civilian population of England in September.

At any rate, it was not until October that Willkie actively argued his third major contention, that Roosevelt had injured American democracy by failing to provide an adequate defense. He took the position that American defenses were completely inadequate, then attempted to draw a causal relationship between that inadequacy and Roosevelt's alleged failure to plan for defense. In Willkie's words:

Every year since 1933, General MacArthur, the Chief of Staff, has been warning the third term candidate that our army is insufficiently equipped . . . the third term candidate went before Congress on January 5, 1937, and asked for increased national defense appropriations of how much an increase? Half a billion? Oh no. He asked for less than a hundred million dollars. But at the same time he asked for one billion, five hundred million dollars for relief. . . .³²

He presented numerous examples indicating that Roosevelt had neglected defense measures in order to promote relief legislation, and this became a major issue, for Roosevelt immediately denied Willkie's contentions. The vigorous audience response to Willkie's remarks

on national defense indicated that the speaker was very much "in tune" with public interest. In fact his popularity rating rose sharply as he argued that point.³³ Willkie approached this issue also from the businessman's viewpoint as he spoke of costs and the need for an industrialist in the White House to direct the defense program. The matter was so vital to the ordinary citizen as well, that he could easily associate his own welfare with the speaker's words.

Willkie's fourth main contention, supported with both logical and emotional proof, was that the Roosevelt administration was leading America toward war. He cited examples of Roosevelt's warlike activities, and through well developed appeals to fear and patriotism attempted to arouse the voters to cast aside Roosevelt, the "warmonger," who was failing to keep his promises, and select as their president, Willkie, a true American. As Willkie put it:

The New Deal promises to keep us out of war. My fellow citizens, in light of the record, I challenge its truthfulness. The third term candidate has not kept faith with the American people. . . . If his promise to keep our boys out of foreign wars is no better than his promise to balance the budget, they are almost on the transports already.³⁴

Again one should note the strong emotional appeal coupled with an effort to identify Willkie's crusade with something vital to the audience—peace and democracy as found in Willkie's final plea to the electorate:

People of America, this is your crusade, you carried it forward and you will finish it next Tuesday . . . when you vote next Tuesday you will hold in your hands that precious, precious thing, our democratic way of life. Within the hollow of your hands is shielded the last unquenched flame of democracy in all the world. . . . People of America, thus we will keep America strong, thus we will keep America at

³⁰ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1940.

³¹ *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1940.

³² *New York Times*, Oct. 30, 1940.

³³ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1940.

³⁴ *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1940.

peace, thus with the help of Almighty God, we will keep America free.³⁵

Willkie's final attempt to cast doubt upon Roosevelt's foreign policy was effective, for his popularity rose sharply during the final two weeks of the contest. It was unfortunate for him that he had not challenged Roosevelt on international issues at an earlier date.

V. DISPOSITION

The organization of Willkie's speeches was generally good. He favored the problem-solution order, and his method of organization often approximated the pattern employed in the "motivated sequence." Willkie would gain attention by making reference to an occasion or person familiar to the audience; then he would present a need for a change and satisfy that need by offering his solution. Next he would visualize his solution before finally using motive appeals to induce the audience to action. The beginnings and endings of the speeches were closely integrated with the content. He usually had a clearcut central idea which led the listener into the body of the speech. Emotional proof and summaries were often found in the conclusions of the speeches; the summaries, however, were often quite weak. There was a sense of finality about the conclusions to Willkie's talks. In general, the whole speech seemed to represent a well-knit unit of thought.

VI. STYLE

Willkie's ideas were clothed in plain, forceful, direct language. It was not an ornamental style, for he employed few striking figures. In Willkie's own words, "I wanted to talk to you this evening about labor . . . you workers of America . . . are entitled to know in forthright

language exactly where I stand and I want to let you know.³⁶ He often repeated the words "American democracy," "freedom," "production," and "the third term candidate." The most outstanding characteristic of his language was its plainness, appropriate since he regarded himself as a man of simple tastes.

VII. DELIVERY

The delivery of Willkie's speeches was effective in some ways, ineffective in others. The physical aspects of his delivery gained favor for he was an impressive looking speaker. If size is important, Willkie definitely had an advantage, for he was over six feet tall and weighed 225 pounds. When speaking he often smiled; at times he scowled; at other times he frowned. While waiting for audience response to subside, he often extended his arms above his head and waved his hands to the crowd. He punctuated many of his ideas with a gesture made by raising his arm in front of his body with an index finger pointed toward the audience. At times Willkie's ideas seemed to be punctuated by a shock of thick black hair which fell over his right eye as he shook his head. In general, his delivery was characterized by numerous, animated gestures which seemed to please the audience.

On the other hand, Willkie's articulation was not always good, for he often employed sound distortions. For example, he said "prezn-unid-stadz" for "President of the United States"; "ever" for "every" and "par" for "power." At times he seemed to emphasize the wrong word in a phrase, giving the impression that he was reading words rather than speaking ideas.³⁷ It is generally known that Willkie disliked reading from manu-

³⁵ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1940.

³⁶ *New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1940.

³⁷ Dillon, p. 207.

script and that he had had little practice in that art. Nevertheless, the Republican high command requested him to read his major speeches. In one respect this was unfortunate, for Willkie's experience had prepared him for extempore speaking.³⁸ It should also be noted that Willkie was inexperienced in using a microphone; when he began his campaign he shouted into the instrument and strained his voice, which remained hoarse throughout the campaign.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the evidence, the following conclusions seem to be warranted:

- (1) Independence of attitude, ideas, and action was one major characteristic of Willkie's campaign speaking.
- (2) Other distinguishing characteristics of his 1940 campaign speaking included sincerity, enthusiasm and vigor in delivery; simplicity of language; and clear organization.
- (3) The immediate reactions of Will-

kie's listeners were usually quite favorable. Large crowds attended his speeches, but their enthusiasm was the result not only of Willkie's ideas and skill in presenting them, but also the result of "organized stimulation" and reaction to him as a party symbol.

- (4) The delayed responses to Willkie's speaking were generally favorable. Although he lost the election, some of the principles for which he fought, banning the "third term," the limitation of government control, and an anti-isolationist foreign policy have since become realities.

Finally, it may be said that Willkie made an ambitious attempt to win the presidency. He stressed those ideas and principles that he sincerely believed were vitally important to the welfare of the nation. His failure to work closely with his own party organization, coupled with the fact that public interest shifted from domestic issues, which he had stressed, to war and defense topics, on which he and Roosevelt agreed in principle, were contributing factors in Willkie's defeat.

³⁸ John Cowles, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Darryl F. Zanuck and several lawyers who knew Willkie in Akron, Ohio, have given evidence supporting this belief.

VOCAL FOLD ACTIVITY AND SUB-GLOTTIC AIR PRESSURE IN RELATION TO VOCAL INTENSITY: A BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW*

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AN examination of available literature on laryngeal activity in voice production reveals a focus of attention on factors relating to pitch, with relatively slight concern for intensity. Consequently, teachers and students of voice interested in comparing modern concepts of vocal fold action with ideas of the past often find themselves better informed on the subject of pitch than on loudness or intensity.

This review is intended to note briefly some of the more prominent observations and conjectures regarding vocal fold adjustments and action as they relate to the intensity of vocal sound. The role of sub-glottic air pressure must also be considered since most observers have described changes in laryngeal activity as being a function co-operative with alterations in breath pressure.

I. EARLY SPECULATIONS

Some early Greek scholars apparently gave thought to the subject of vocal intensity. Dodart, in 1707, marveled that "one of such great antiquity" as Anaxagoras (500-428 B.C.), teacher of Socrates, should have suggested that vocal force is the result of the breath being forcibly released against "the solid air" and being returned to the ear by its rebound.¹ The Greek physician

Galen (130-200 A.D.), one of the first to recognize the glottis as the source of vocal sound, concluded from his observations of the vocal mechanism that loudness is dependent upon the adjustments of the soft palate, especially the uvula.²

One of the earliest attempts to describe the relationship between the glottal air stream and the function of the glottal valve in the variation of intensity was that of Dodart, in 1700:

One marvel of the glottis . . . is its having been rendered capable not only of producing all the pitches in the range of the voice, but also all the degrees of force and softness in each of its pitches, and that by the simple expedient of having the glottis capable of narrowing and dilating. . . . Now let us suppose that the pitch be constant whether the sound be stronger or weaker. The glottis is dilated in letting more air escape, and is narrowed in letting less air escape, and it is dilated precisely as far as is necessary for the degree of force that one wishes to give to it, and it is narrowed precisely as much as is necessary in changing from the loud to the soft without changing pitch. . . . It is in this proportion and in this precision that the marvel of this maneuver consists, the success of which, in order to maintain the pitch while changing the force, depends on a compensation about which the human intelligence is not capable of determining a great deal; also it is proper that this be regulated by instinct. . . .³

Dodart believed that voice is produced by the impact upon the relatively dor-

*Based upon an appendix to Ph.D. dissertation, "A Study of Internal Laryngeal Activity in Relation to Vocal Intensity," Northwestern University, 1950, directed by Paul Moore.

¹ M. Dodart, "Supplement au Memoire sur la Voix et les Tons," *Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences* (1707), 73.

² P. Grützner, "Physiologie der Stimme und Sprache," in *Handbuch der Physiologie*, ed. L. Hermann (Berlin, 1879), I, pt. 2, p. 73.

³ M. Dodart, "Sur les Causes de la Voix de l'Homme, et de ses Differens Tons," *Mem. Acad. Roy. Sci.* (1700), 265-266. Trans. present writer.

mant supra-glottal air that is made by a slender column of air passing through the glottis.⁴

In 1741 Ferrein examined glottal adjustments in a number of live canine larynges and arrived at the conclusion, according to Grützner,⁵ that loudness of phonation is greatest when the glottis is narrowest. To this contradiction of Dodart's observation he added the opinion that an increase of breath pressure tends to increase the amplitude of vocal cord movement. The manner in which the resulting augmentation of loudness is achieved was thought to be analogous to that by which the intensity of tone of an Aeolian harp is increased in response to heightened wind velocity.

II. 19TH CENTURY OBSERVATIONS

The first relatively thorough and systematic experimentation on the intensity factor in voice was conducted by Johannes Müller and reported in 1839.⁶ His findings apparently formed the basis for much of the thinking on the subject of the following seventy years. Some of his observations are even to be found, practically unaltered, in the writings of a few modern authorities on voice training, though the source is seldom recognized.

Müller connected a manometer with the tracheas of cadaver larynges, and to the air tubes of artificial larynges, to determine the effects of varying degrees of air pressure. He also attempted to determine interactional effects of changes in air pressure with degrees of vocal band tension. Variations in tension were achieved by means of weights and

pulleys, with applications of force to the thyroid cartilage as well as to the vocal bands themselves. In the artificial larynx, flat rubber membranes were used to simulate the true vocal "bands."

The main conclusion drawn from these studies was that vocal intensity at a given pitch is dependent upon the relationship between sub-glottic air pressure and vocal band tension, the latter varying inversely with the former.

The intensity or loudness of a given note emitted by the larynx cannot be rendered greater by merely increasing the force of the current of air through the glottis; for increase of the force of the current of air . . . raises the pitch both of the natural and the falsetto notes. . . . When a note is rendered more intense, the vocal cords must be relaxed by remission of the muscular action in proportion as the force of the current of the breath through the glottis is increased. When a note is rendered fainter, the reverse of this must occur.⁷

The first recorded measurement of breath pressure in relation to intensity and pitch in a living human was made by Cagniard-Latour at about the time of Müller's studies. A manometer tube was attached to the tracheal opening of a tracheotomized subject and the course of the breath stream abruptly alternated between the intact larynx and the manometer. Breath pressure measurements made at various pitch and loudness levels appeared to confirm the general relationships described by Müller.⁸

The remarks made by nineteenth century physiologists after Müller were limited by inadequate observational techniques. Much of the literature is apparently concerned with interpreting the Müller data, though some of the comments were based upon mirror observation of the vocal folds, and a few were the result of experimental research on dog, cadaver, and artificial larynxes.

⁴ Dodart, "Supplement au Memoire . . .," p. 72.

⁵ Grützner, "Physiologie . . ."

⁶ Johannes Müller, *Über die Compensation des Physische Kräfte am Menschlichen Stimmapparat* (Berlin, 1839).

⁷ Johannes Müller, *Elements of Physiology*, trans. William Baly (Philadelphia, 1843), p. 699.

⁸ Grützner, "Physiologie . . .," p. 63.

Illustrative of the thinking of this period are the observations of such men as Magendie, Liskovius, Bataille, Mandl, Techmer, and McKendrick and Gray. Among the most prominent experimental researchers were Merkel, Grützner, and Ewald.

Magendie, who had demonstrated great interest in vocal physiology in earlier writings, commented on vocal intensity in his 1844 textbook on physiology: "*Intensity or volume of the voice*. This depends, like all other sounds, on the extent of the vibrations." He questioned this common assumption, however, in a footnote comment: "Probably the intensity of sound depends upon other causes besides the extent of vibrations; and it must be the same with the intensity of the voice."⁹

It was the contention of Liskovius in 1846 that the vocal bands gradually relax as the voice is intensified.¹⁰ In 1861 Bataille observed by means of laryngeal mirrors that the bands both shorten and relax in crescendo singing on a single pitch.¹¹ This was affirmed by Merkel.¹²

From 1870 to 1880 a greater volume of material was published on the subject of vocal cord functioning, especially as related to the breath stream, than in any previous decade. Mandl, in his textbook on voice, compared the action of the cords to that of a violin string, explaining that just as more forceful bowing increases the string's amplitude of movement and consequently the intensity of the sound produced, so does the stronger "bowing" of the vibrating laryngeal

bodies by the increased air pressure heighten the vocal intensity.¹³

In 1877 Vacher suggested that the conformation of the glottis as well as amplitude of movement affects intensity.¹⁴

In agreement with Vacher in regard to variations of the glottal chink was Merkel, author of the most intensive exposition on laryngeal functioning to appear during this period. In *Der Kehlkopf* he noted that increased vocal intensity is accompanied by a greater excursion of the vocal bands which causes the glottal aperture to appear wider. He also observed that the glottis becomes somewhat longer as the result of a reduced resistance of the bands to the increased air pressure. A reduction in intensity operates in a reverse manner. "It is necessary therefore in the various degrees of intensity of tone to balance the force of the air column with tension of the glottis-closing muscles; neither of these factors should overcome the other."¹⁵ Merkel had stated in an earlier work that intensity is directly related to the quantity of air allowed to pass through the larynx. He thought the glottal width determining this passage is varied by pressure from the laryngeal walls.¹⁶

In 1879 Grützner made manometric measurements of breath pressure on a tracheotomized subject by a method similar to the one used earlier by Cagniard-Latour. A moderate increase in loudness at a given pitch resulted in manometric readings approximately fifty per cent higher than for the original

⁹ F. Magendie, *An Elementary Treatise on Human Physiology*, trans. John Revere (New York, 1844), p. 201.

¹⁰ K. F. Liskovius, *Physiologie der Menschlichen Stimme* (Leipzig, 1846).

¹¹ Grützner, "Physiologie . . .," p. 116.

¹² Carl L. Merkel, *Physiologie der Menschlichen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1866).

¹³ L. Mandl, *Die Gesundheitslehre der Stimme in Sprache und Gesang* (Braunschweig, 1876), pp. 7-19.

¹⁴ Louis Vacher, *De la Voix Chez l'Homme* (Paris, 1877).

¹⁵ Carl L. Merkel, *Der Kehlkopf* (Leipzig, 1873), p. 175. Trans. present writer.

¹⁶ Merkel, *Physiologie* . . . , p. 23.

medium intensity.¹⁷ In a series of experiments on an artificial larynx, pitch was held constant while intensity was varied over a wide range. The resulting data on sub-glottic air pressures and lead-weight tensions on the "vocal bands" led him to conclude that, in increasing vocal intensity, "the air pressure increases only about four-fold, but the tension of the vocal bands must be decreased about eighteen-fold, with the pitch held constant."¹⁸ Despite this evidence in support of the prevalent contention that tension of the bands is reduced in order to maintain pitch when intensity is augmented, Grützner parenthetically implied some doubt concerning the validity of the experimental conclusions. Referring to mirror examinations of his own larynx, he stated: "I very often get the impression that I even increase the tension of the vocal bands when I sing one and the same pitch louder in the chest register."¹⁹

III. EARLY 20TH CENTURY VIEWS

Although the nineteenth century pattern of thinking carried over into writings on vocal physiology that appeared during the first few years of the present century, several unorthodox and questioning viewpoints arose within the first quarter of the century. Some of these ideas formed the basis for later research leading to our present day knowledge of the nature of the laryngeal mechanism.

Among those who espoused Müllerian concepts were experimenters Ewald, McKendrick and Gray, and Gutzmann. Ewald employed frog-leg muscles as vocal cord analogues whose tension could be varied with differing degrees of electrical stimulation. He found that such tension must vary inversely with air pressure, if sound intensity is to be al-

tered without change of pitch.²⁰ McKendrick and Gray agreed with this, adding that an increased force by the air stream produces a higher pitch from the unaltered cords because it stretches them.²¹ The renowned experimental phonetician, Hermann Gutzmann, attempted to duplicate some of the procedures used by Müller on cadaver and artificial larynxes and obtained generally similar results.²²

An unusual point of view was expressed in 1902 by Aiken. He presented sketches of glottal appearance in which he referred to the space between the vocal processes of the arytenoid cartilages during phonation as a "valve." "When the valve is closed, the whole pressure of the breath is acting upon the reed, and the sound is more intense. When it is open, the sub-glottic pressure escapes and the intensity is diminished. . . ."²³

Finally, in 1913, one of the basic assumptions of the majority of nineteenth century researchers was challenged by Wethlo, who believed that the so-called human vocal "bands" do not so much resemble bands or cords as thickened lips. Consequently he constructed an artificial larynx in which he employed inflated rubber cushions as "vocal lips."

²⁰ J. R. Ewald, "Die Physiologie des Kehlkopfes und der Luftröhre," in *Handbuch der Laryngologie und Rhinologie*, ed. Paul Heymann (Vienna, 1898), I, pp. 165-226. Although technically of the nineteenth century, Ewald's significant position in the revival of interest in vocal intensity makes convenient the inclusion of his work with the early twentieth century group.

²¹ John C. McKendrick and C. Gray, "On Vocal Sounds," in *Textbook of Physiology*, ed. E. A. Schaeffer (New York, 1900), II, pp. 1206-1236.

²² Hermann Gutzmann, *Physiologie der Stimme und Sprache* (Braunschweig, 1909). Also *Stimmbildung und Stimmpflege* (Wiesbaden, 1912).

²³ W. A. Aiken, "The Separate Functions of Different Parts of the Rima Glottidis," *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, 36 (1902), 253-256.

¹⁷ Grützner, "Physiologie . . .," p. 64.

¹⁸ Grützner, p. 82. Trans. present writer.

¹⁹ Grützner, Fn., p. 117. Trans. present writer.

His findings were in direct contradiction to some of those of the Müller school. As air pressure was increased, loudness became greater, but, without compensatory adjustments of the vocal lips, pitch was observably lower.²⁴ This was in marked contrast to the rise in pitch earlier observed on vocal "band" analogues.

In the years following Wethlo's condemnation of one of the fundamental assumptions of earlier observers, others also began to question the validity of former studies. Nadoleczny, for example, expressed serious doubts concerning the value of trying to apply the findings of investigations using artificial and cadaver larynxes to the living human larynx.²⁵ Molinié felt that the nineteenth century concept of "vocal compensation" in regard to intensity changes on a single pitch should be rejected.²⁶

IV. MODERN OPINIONS

Authorities writing within the past twenty or twenty-five years are practically unanimous in their rejection of the notion that the vocal folds resemble flat membranes. They are still concerned, however, with determining the relationship between elasticity of the vocal folds, as accomplished by muscular tensions, and activating air pressure. The examination of vibratory characteristics of the vocal folds at various intensity levels has been made possible by the advent of high-speed motion picture photography and has resulted in the presentation of new information.

Some present day writers maintain that vocal fold tension is actually height-

ened where increased breath pressure is employed to increase the intensity without change of pitch, while others cling to the older viewpoint. Luchsinger placed X-ray plates in the esophagus at the level of the larynx and was able to obtain images of the active folds during production of a single pitch at varying intensities. He reports that stronger internal contractions of the vocal folds were evident at high intensity than at lower intensities.²⁷ Curry, in his 1940 textbook on the vocal mechanism, states that the resistance of the vocal folds is probably increased for high intensities.²⁸ He also reveals that if the air pressure is increased in a cushion-pipe model larynx the intensity increases up to a maximum, after which the raised pressure acts to lower the fundamental frequency.²⁹ Carhart's study of a cushion-pipe larynx, on the other hand, revealed that air pressure increased beyond a minimum effective level "yielded first a pitch drop and then a pitch rise."³⁰ Wullstein found that doubling the air pressure in the trachea of an excised calf larynx caused a more intense sound and a rise in frequency from 85 to 128 cycles per second.³¹

The views of an outstanding modern authority in laryngeal anatomy and physiology serve to exemplify the continuing support to be found for the beliefs expressed by Müller more than a hundred years ago. Negus asserts that "To maintain a uniform pitch, with variations

²⁷ R. Luchsinger and G. E. Arnold, *Lehrbuch der Stimm- und Sprachheilkunde* (Vienna, 1949), p. 56.

²⁸ Robert Curry, *The Mechanism of the Human Voice* (New York, 1940), p. 77.

²⁹ Curry, p. 158.

³⁰ Raymond Carhart, "A Study of the Relation between Vibrating Glottal Lips and Sub-Glottal Resonators," (unpub. M.S. thesis, Northwestern U., 1934), p. 85.

³¹ Horst Wullstein, "Der Bewegungsvorgang an den Stimmlippen während der Stimmgebung," *Archiv für Ohren-Nasen- und Kehlkopfheilkunde*, 142 (1936), 124.

²⁴ F. Wethlo, "Versuche mit Polsterpfeifen," *Beiträge zur Anatomie, Physiologie, Pathologie, und Therapie der Nase und des Halses*, 6 (1913), 269-280.

²⁵ Max Nadoleczny, "Physiologie der Stimme und Sprache," in *Handbuch der Hals-Nasen-Ohrenheilkunde*, ed. A. Denker and O. Kahler (Berlin, 1925), I, pt. 2, pp. 621-691.

²⁶ J. Molinié, *Laryngologie et Chant* (Paris, 1926), p. 27.

of volume, it is necessary for the elasticity of the glottic margins to decrease or increase as the air pressure rises or falls. . . ."³²

One of the most common assumptions to be found in modern works on voice appears to be that variations in vocal intensity at a given pitch require variations in vocal fold amplitude just as would be expected in any compressional type of vibrator, as, for example, the tuning fork. Possibly this is the basis for such statements as that by Jones: "Loudness is a function of pitch and amplitude of the movements of the vocal cords. . . ."³³ Similar statements are made by Curry, Luchsinger, and Tarneaud.³⁴ The views of Pressman are expressed somewhat differently: "The widest opening during the vibratory cycle does not differ greatly with change in intensity. The amplitude of the vibratory movement . . . becomes greater as the pressure is increased, the added excursion representing a more complete movement to the midline. . . ."³⁵

One of the most accurately detailed presentations ever made on the subject of vocal fold movement relative to intensity variation is the Bell Telephone Laboratories high-speed motion picture study. Photography at 4,000 pictures per second made possible the examination of details of vibratory movement during ultra-slow-motion projections and provided several still pictures from each cycle for measurement. A thorough discussion of the subject is presented in one of the brochures designed to accompany

and explain the film.³⁶ The essential observations are: (1) as intensity increases, the cords remain closed for a proportionately longer time during each cycle; (2) the length of the cords does not vary as much during pitch change at high intensity as at low intensity; (3) the maximum displacement of the cords increases with intensity, but not proportionately; (4) during high intensity phonation, the cords of those with vocal training remain closed for a longer portion of each cycle and have a smaller maximum displacement amplitude than do the cords of subjects with untrained voices. The findings of a high-speed motion picture investigation by the present writer are in essential agreement with these conclusions, although no consistent relationship was found between horizontal amplitude of vocal fold displacement and vocal intensity. In fact, some instances were found in which amplitude was slightly reduced with marked increase in intensity.

The factor of vocal intensity has not been dealt with in the literature as widely as other features of vocal physiology. Nevertheless, there has been much more written on the subject than can be presented in a short review. It has been shown that the first systematic and intensive study of the subject was conducted by Johannes Müller in the 1830's. Also it has been observed that his conclusions were generally accepted and reaffirmed by authorities in voice production until some of his basic assumptions were questioned early in the twentieth century. Recent developments in instrumentation permit a more thorough examination of some aspects of laryngeal activity; this may well result in formulating new hypotheses upon which further research may be based.

³⁶ "High Speed Motion Pictures of the Human Vocal Cords," Bell Telephone Laboratories, Bureau of Publications, 463 West St., New York (1940).

³² Victor E. Negus, *The Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of the Larynx* (New York, 1949), p. 144.

³³ S. Jones, "Voice," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed. (1948), XXIII, p. 236.

³⁴ Curry, *Human Voice*, p. 47; Luchsinger and Arnold, *Lehrbuch*, p. 56; Jean Tarneaud, *La Stroboscopie du Larynx* (Paris, 1937), p. 29.

³⁵ Joel Pressman, "Physiology of the Vocal Cords in Phonation and Respiration," *Archives of Otolaryngology*, 35 (1942), 391.